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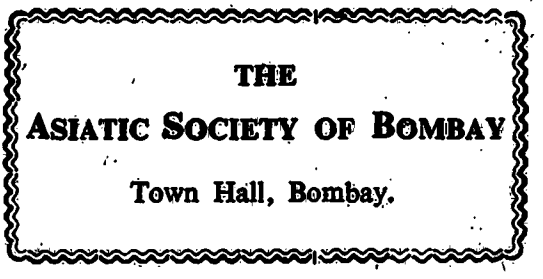


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# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS

ON

# GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

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FOR THE

## Early History of Great Britain.

WITH

A GLOSSARY OF ARCHAIC CELTIC WORDS,
AND AN ATLAS OF COINS.

BY

BEALE POSTE.

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TO

THEODORE HERSART,

VISCOUNT DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ,

TRANSLATOR OF THE EPIC POEM

OF THE

"GODODIN" OF ANEURIN,

THIS WORK IS VERY RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

By the Author.

# PREFACE.

VERY considerable advantage has been obtained in these inquiries, in combining the Celtic inscriptions of the moneys of Gaul with those of Britain, the latter not being intelligible except by means of the former.

The references to the Celtic, in explaining the inscriptions noticed in these pages, have been made through the various dialects of that language, as the Armorican, Gaelic, ancient British or Welsh, and the Gaelic of Scotland, or Erse; but the Manx dialect has not been used. The Welsh has usually been found sufficient for the part of the inscriptions relating to Britain; and in cases where words are not now extant in the Welsh, they will almost invariably be met with in the Gaelic of Caledonia, which I have found more to my purpose than the Gaelic of Ireland, which closely approximates to it, considering it not so much encumbered with superfluous letters.

Illustration to the history of a country by inscriptions on coins, is always in proportion as the ancient affairs of that country are more or less known. If these be but little known, the illustration will be great, if there be only sufficient specimens to consult; whilst, if a country's history be already well known, as is the case of many countries ancient and modern,—Greece, Rome, France, or Great Britain, for instance,—a copious coinage will then only supply matters of collateral interest, as incidental points connected with biography, chronology, or the arts, present themselves. In this point of view the ancient British coinage may appear to afford us a fair prospect of success. The loss of early documents and of written materials of ancient British history, in many points is indeed irreparable, except as far as it can be replaced by coins.

We shall find our supply of materials in this way not deficient.

Our ancient British types cannot amount to much less than nearly four hundred in number, of which possibly as many as two hundred may have inscriptions.

A titular mode of interpretation of the legends of ancient British coins will be usually adopted in these pages. The import of the inscriptions is thus far more correctly explained, much more agreeably to the idiom of the Celtic language, and more conformably to the manners and customs of ancient nations, and to what we know of the general outlines of ancient British history.

I have only followed in this the pattern afforded me by Mr. Layard, Mr. Bosanquet, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and others, in their explanations of Assyrian antiquities. They have found that the inscriptions of ancient Nineveh could only be so explained; and that there was no choice otherwise. It was only either to adopt that mode, or to leave them locked up in their former obscurity,—indeed, hermetically sealed for ever. They fortunately followed the correct path, and so we have the benefit of their labours. Their proofs may frequently appear light and insufficient to some; but in the result they will be seldom found to be in error, and their combined discoveries confirm one another. I may, in the like manner, refer with confidence to many of the discoveries and altogether new explanations in the following pages. Some may object to them in their first and second stages; but few will do so as to their ultimate results.

It is much to be regretted that our eminent lexicographers of the last, and, indeed, of the present century, have so much neglected Celtic etymology, as Johnson, Todd, Richardson, and others. They have usually contented themselves with tracing words up to the Latin or the Greek, and there they leave them; forgetting that they might often more faithfully have assigned them to this earlier source. Celtic has thus been excluded from our national etymologies; but there seems no good reason why their example should be followed, and why we should similarly neglect not only the light incidentally supplied to our English etymologies, but also that thrown on the history of our island in

remote times, by Celtic inscriptions on coins; which these pages will be sufficient to shew is very considerable.

One thing which, I think, will be found of interest in these inscriptions, is, that they will shew the elements of the Celtic mind, which in those days was certainly somewhat versatile and fanciful, and very different from the Roman or Teutonic mind, which was composed of elements of a more severe cast; and varying also from the temperament of other ethnological classes of the leading divisions of the human family.

As to the phrase employed in these inscriptions, O'Connor (vol. i, p. 332), in his explanation of the titular name of Cartismandua, expresses it to be, "She herself is in (the) quality of (the) chief of the citizens"; which, whether or not he may explain it rightly, may be taken as giving an idea of the tenor and vein of the numerous titular appellations of the Celtic rulers; though, of course, a legend on a coin would be expressed with much greater brevity. They were vain-glorious, too; for they took the names of their gods freely, as will be shewn in the following pages; and sometimes even with additions implying the superlative degree.

A few observations may be required in regard to the Glossary. It is brief, and only comprises twenty-seven pages; but I must claim some special importance for it, as it supplies the opportunity, not hitherto afforded in this country, of obtaining a close and accurate view of the early Celtic language. The valuable work of Baxter (his *Glossary of British Antiquities*) would have accomplished this; but he failed, not so much because he is sometimes obscure, and very frequently very fanciful, but actually from an absolute want of sufficient materials. For a range of all the classical authors of antiquity, and of all possible mediæval authorities, it seems was not enough. He still wanted the solid basis of Celtic coin-inscriptions; which, till the last five years, could not be attained; when the onward progress of modern numismatics, like a tide coming in, has enabled it to be done. We are now in more favourable circumstances; and the some hundreds of Celtic inscriptions on coins which an inquirer on the subject has in the

present day in his power to bring forward, will sufficiently remove obscurities. To shew the value of this species of illustration, I will observe that each inscription is a sentence, sometimes merely idiomatic and conventional, sometimes partially inflected, after the manner of the Romans and Greeks, and according to Roman or Greek formulæ, as may happen. But still each inscription is a separate sentence.

I will ask, then, whether it be possible to have some hundreds of sentences of the ancient Celtic language of the century before, and the century after the Christian era, which have become accessible of late years to the moderns, and not to have superior advantages of understanding the Celtic of the date spoken of, than were enjoyed by M. J. B. Bullet, Bouteroue, Rostreven, Owen Pughe, Edward Davies, or any of the old writers of lexicons or philologists? or even are so by the modern ones, if they disregard or neglect the great advance which has been made?

I will go on to observe, and I will confess that what I shall now say will almost look like some sort of abatement to what has been just stated in the immediately preceding remarks, that if our British branch of numismatics has advanced, forgery, the *crimen falsi* of the ancient Romans, has quite proportionably progressed with it, and, indeed, much outstripped it in the race. There is at the present day a vast manufacturing of forgeries going on in this country and on the continent, especially in Germany. Thus, with the great accession of fabrications everywhere meeting the view, it is obvious that the execution of the present work, in any satisfactory mode and form, would have been next to impossible if the publication of it had been long delayed. This would have been so from the numerous forged legends introduced, many of which might, of course, be expected to bear on controverted points. True enough it is that this influx of forgery is becoming so great as to give reason to apprehend that the authentic legends of many most important historical types may soon be superseded by those which have been manufactured for the sake of pounds, shillings, and pence.

Speaking of forgery, this *crimen falsi*, it may be said, with some degree of truth, that through its baneful influence the study of ancient British coins is already almost come to an end. There is an embarrassment introduced, which types or readings to select and the majority of the vehicles of antiquarian and numismatic intelligence have been wholly unable to bar out for years past many highly suspicious specimens. Indeed, the present epoch is almost the very gala-day of forgery, in the production of fabricated coins of various nations, swords, arrow-heads, pottery, etc., etc. For one instance: I scarcely need refer to the very great and noticeable multiplication of particular types of ancient British coins, which has become at the present time so obvious.

This, be it remembered, is in addition to the vast mass of forgery which has come down to us from former times, both those of a century back and those comparatively recent. It is not so many years since that a customary and annual trade in *choice* forged specimens of Greek coins manufactured in Birmingham existed with Constantinople and Asia Minor, to be vended among travellers and virtuosi. The fabrications of ancient British coins also in the last century are very noticeable.

I do not profess to be able to state the prices at which rare coins were accustomed to be sold in former times, but certainly the excessive sums now so freely given for reputed rare and valuable specimens supply the greatest possible inducement to the very culpable criminality of forgery. When it is mentioned that an *aureus* of Allectus, worth, intrinsically, seventeen or eighteen shillings, has produced at a coin sale £60, and that the marketable price of a gold coin of Antiochus the Great, value half a sovereign, is £35, enough may be perhaps said on this subject: and rare silver and bronze coins are of course understood to bear proportionable prices. Thus the marketable values supply a great premium to the unprincipled; and for this there is no imaginable remedy. The only safeguard is a person's own scrutiny and discretion.

An attention to coins as historical evidence is, I think, the

thing which excites the most scrutiny as to their authenticity. When a person knows that a coin is perfectly valueless for his historical purpose, nay, would deceive him and be a detriment to his research unless it be genuine, he very naturally is not swayed by any other considerations except those which bear upon the question, whether it be an authentic remnant of antiquity or not.

I may here, perhaps, make the remark with advantage, that incidentally a collateral proof or two in the present volume will supply a considerable security against forgery. For one instance. If we have VERIC, A COMMI(OS) F(IRBOLG)., which reading is supported by two types and is only consistent with the word FIR, seeing that the Celtic conjunction A, that is, *and*, is introduced, we may readily understand that the F on Cunobeline's coins may be expected to stand for FIR likewise; particularly in a country like Britain, where it appears to have been most usual to mention the names of states on coins, as the Iceni and others did.

The reader is not to suppose but that forged coins in our days frequently make their appearance with much show and attestation of genuineness, and thus modern numismatists are exposed to some additional peril. Many, indeed, are slow to consider at first that it is but a slight sacrifice for manufacturers of the class of which mention is now made, to expend a few specimens to be deposited in places where they can be rediscovered as alleged proofs, to secure a profitable and recurring sale of particular types.

I say the above the more pointedly, as being so material to the present inquiry; and being well aware that if the very obvious explanations of the Gaulish and British coinages which have been submitted in these pages be ever shaken, it will only be by the means of forged coins fabricated by unworthy persons for the motives of gain and for the diffusion of error.

I may here recommend some very excellent observations on the subject of the forgery of antiquities, by A. W. Franks, Esq., of the British Museum, read before the Society of Antiquaries, December 16th, 1858, and also printed in No. xvii of the *Wilt-*

*shire Archæological Magazine* for 1859, pp. 183-186. The papers of H. Syer Cuming, Esq., on the forgery of antiques in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ix, pp. 89-94; vol. xi, pp. 67-73; and vol. xiv, p. 94; displaying both a correct judgment and great archæological experience, may likewise be associated to the above, by which much information will be supplied relative to prevailing impositions. There was a strange fraud practised on the celebrated Gough, then Director of the Society of Antiquaries, now three quarters of a century ago. This consisted in the pretended discovery of an Anglo-Saxon inscription relating to the death of Hardicanute: the accounts of this must be sought for in the periodicals of the year 1790, viz., in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March and April, and in the *European Magazine* for the latter month. Sir Joseph Banks obtained the tablet, we are told, and kept it in his museum as supplying the materials of a species of permanent joke against antiquaries.

I have thus given much caution on the score of forgery; but after all it comes to this, that my readers must take their choice whether they accept the explanations of the coins and inscriptions as given in the present work on the vouchers and arguments which have been brought forward, or whether they suffer themselves to be swayed by the alleged discoveries of doubtful and very suspicious new specimens, though it is like enough in *perfect preservation*, which may be brought forward for the purposes of trade and falsification. When it is considered how elaborated has sometimes been the proof got up for notorious forgeries, and how closely veiled the folds of deception employed; and viewing also the grave suspicions entertained in some quarters of the genuineness of various objects assumed to be of great value, this may be, perhaps, saying enough.

Before concluding these preliminary remarks, I cannot but make an allusion to the astonishing spread of archæology and antiquarian research, of every species, of late years. It shews, I think, the judgment of the public, that, notwithstanding all abatements and scoffs from some quarters, archæology brings the mind

up to a vigorous tone, in drawing aside the curtain of revolving years, and giving us faithful glimpses of times past. Not always, indeed, history; but frequently something more than history, in supplying us with closer and more real views. I here may advert to a circumstance somewhat slight in itself, but yet of much import in support of what I now say, which is this, that a public journal of a very graphic character, and altogether of very unprecedented circulation, has poured forth, from a short interval from its commencement, a most copious stream of archæological illustration and description; which has not ceased in its issue, and is still progressing in its course, without, indeed, any symptom that public interest flags,—and this, too, notwithstanding that there is in the first number a notice, if I interpret rightly, that no communication of that nature should be received. The publication meant is the *Illustrated London News*.

There is another point which may be adverted to with satisfaction. There is a cheering hope that archæology displaces reading of a more unprofitable complexion. The hope, I repeat, is cheering; and should the low class of novels and other reading of a trashy description go more into the background by works like the present, I certainly should feel very highly gratified that my labours may have had collaterally this effect.

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## ERRATA.

Page 13, l. 36, *for* pronounced, *read* have the power of.
— 14, l. 6, *for* dependant, *read* dependent.
— 16, l. 12, *after* equivalent, *insert* to it.
— 29, l. 2, *for* Britian, *read* Britain.
— 31, l. 24, *for* in, *read* of.
— 37, l. 41, *for* p. 8, *read* p. 15.
— 45, l. 36, *for* Catticuchlani, *read* Cattieuchlani.
— 49, l. 8, *dele* the.
— 56, l. 16, *for* on, *read* in.
— 74, l. 22, *after* be, *insert* considered.
— 104, l. 10, *after* Ædui, *insert* see p. 10.
— 136, l. 21, *for* slightest, *read* smallest.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

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# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS

ON

# GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER I.

### GAULISH, BRITISH, AND PANNONIAN COINAGES.

THE readers of these observations may be apprized that they will find a mention of ancient Britain in the following pages, which may be perhaps new to many of them. It may be so; but it is only according to the true ancient history of the country, as I have elsewhere shown. The truth must be told. The real ancient history of early Britain is still, even now in the nineteenth century, very much behind hand. What is the fact? Why that, since the time of Camden, there has scarcely been a real independent researcher into its *arcana*. All have had some other object which has occasioned their researches to come short of their full effect. I will just run through a list of the principal names.

To begin with Camden, who is so well known as the author of the *Britannia*. He was really an unbiassed investigator, and followed his subject fearlessly, whithersoever it led him. He was the first who examined the whole range of ancient literature to illustrate Britain, and he was perhaps the person who of all others examined it the most accurately. For instance, we find him applying to a Cambrian guide, namely to Dr. David Powel, for the explanation of the obscure inscription TASCIO of our ancient British coinage. In truth, Dr. Powel's communication might have led to extensive results, if it had been analysed with a due attention to etymology. He likewise, though late in life, made inquiries of Monsieur Peiresc, in France, respecting

Celtic coins; and might indeed have done more in that way with advantage. There was scarcely a Greek or Latin author treating of, or mentioning ancient Britain, or an ancient British chronicle that he did not examine; and he was very scientific in the geography of the ancient British states. In short, he was a host in himself in his department, and there was no branch of it, notwithstanding his early date, in which his knowledge was not respectable.

To take a rapid glance at Camden's successors. Numerous authors of high talent and eminence have found occasion to touch on ancient British history, either as an introduction to Anglo-Saxon or other histories of the island. The chief endeavour of these has not been the *altum sapere, i. e.* to dig down deep into the subject, but on the contrary to disturb the surface as little as possible, and to avoid entangling themselves with controversies on the true character of various events. I may mention a few among them, such as Speed, Carte, Hume, Henry, Turner, Lingard, Lappenberg and Kemble. The labours of these, as a general characteristic, have been of little benefit; indeed, they have frequently been of great disservice and detriment in giving the weight of their names to crude, unfounded, and injudicious, though perhaps fashionable theories of the day. New information has chiefly been wanted, and misconceptions to be removed; but the advance of these and other similar writers, notwithstanding their number, has not been considerable. We should, however, specially except two of them, Carte and Sharon Turner. The aim of another learned writer, Baxter, was to make use of the ancient British history and language to hang his etymologies upon; however, his labours are such that we should speak of them with respect. Another estimable writer, Dr. Thackeray, made inquiries only so far as to construct his ancient British ecclesiastical history. But be it understood I mean to disparage none; I only mean to speak of the scope they have taken in their researches. Another class are numismatic inquirers; and here again I must speak with circumspection, as I do not wish to undervalue the advance which has been made in this direction. I only mean to say that they appear very frequently not to have understood and applied their own discoveries: they have not sufficiently attended to Celtic nationality and to the circumstances, under which the ancient British coins

were struck and issued. They often endeavour to unlock the difficulties of a Celtic coinage with a Roman key, and sometimes indeed with a Greek key. I am aware that from many types being borrowed by the ancient Britons from foreign nations this may be often done with success; but still the practice is fraught with danger, as a native idea may be associated with the borrowed foreign type. Be it remembered I am now speaking of those causes which occasion inquiries and researches to come short of producing their due fruits. At the same time, my main topic is that researches into ancient British history have been too often made for a collateral purpose; and on this point I must be allowed somewhat to dilate.

Now is the statement true, or is it the reverse? That it is true is sufficiently obvious. If we then examine what takes place in other branches of human science, we shall see that there is no hope of our arriving at a full and complete understanding of ancient British history by any of the foregoing channels. Should we ever have been so intimately acquainted with geology, for instance, as we certainly are at the present day, if it had only been treated of by our agricultural writers as an expansion of their subject? Should we have ever been so versed in astronomy if it only had been used for purposes of navigation? Should we have ever been so versed in mathematics had they been solely written upon and discussed as useful in land measuring? Should we have ever been so intimately acquainted with chemistry if it had been only studied for purposes of commerce? The answer to these questions is sufficiently plain. Each science must be made a sole study and research by itself. It must be elucidated and treated of in all its branches; otherwise we must be contented to remain but imperfectly acquainted with it. The rule holds good with the history, ancient or modern, of any particular country which demands to be made the object of special and not partial research. This being the case, it is no wonder that ancient British history is left much behind hand, and I allude to the above particulars to prepare the reader for the very varied glimpses of early British affairs which he will meet with in the ensuing pages; very diverse possibly from what may be presented to his notice in other quarters.

Gaulish and ancient British Celtic inscriptions, as on their

respective monetary circulation, are here placed together in one view. It was *absolutely* necessary to do so; not only on account of the very extensive illustration they afford one another, but because there would not be full confidence in many of the renderings of inscriptions on Gaulish coins, unless they were supported by the like on British coins, and *vice versa*. Nay it would doubtlessly further support both, could we add to any sufficient extent the inscriptions on the Pannonian coinage, which at present it is not feasible to do, as hitherto the coinage appears to have been very imperfectly investigated. I therefore can only advert to it in two or three passing remarks.

The Pannonian population who struck these Celtic types were offshoots of the ancient Gaulish race, who on the whole imitated in their coinage much less than might have been expected those they were descended from. It may be as well to say of what classes of types their coinage was composed, which are here given according to the arrangement in the work of M. Duchalais.

(1) Imitations of the staters of Macedonia. (2) Imitations of the tetradrachmes of Lysimachus of Macedonia and Pæonia. (3) Imitations in general of the moneys of Pæonia, Larissa, and Dyrrachium. (4) Other imitations of the coins and tetradrachmes of various places; and (5) a range of types not very numerous, but of a far more national character, inscribed with the names of places and persons connected with their own country, and these form, as far as this coinage is concerned, the principal numismatic materials for the student.

The said types, at present, as we have them collected by M. Duchalais, are only twenty or twenty-one in number. About half appear to be names of places, and about half personal names. The inscriptions are even briefer than those on Gaulish coins; but they remind one forcibly of the coinage of that people, for a great proportion of them are evidently titular; and one meets with the words RIX and BVSV, the last of which is cognate with the BOS in the Gaulish legend CISIAMBOS CATTOS,—and here note that BVSV and BOS are both different forms of one and the same Celtic word implying "judge"; and are used in this case, like the term *vercobretus* among the Ædui of ancient Gaul, to express in a titular form the head or governor of a district.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE GAULISH COINAGE.

HAVING made the foregoing remarks, I must now go on to say that we must take the inscriptions on the Gaulish and on our British coins at a *quantum valeant* in both cases. I specify this the more particularly, they being often so concise that they afford us no more than a brief clue, or innuendo, which we can only carry out and apply by an accurate knowledge of ancient Gaul and Britain. They have, too, an evident political bias and application, as we may easily conclude. It strikes me that in Gaul they were chiefly of a republican nature; but the Romans cut short the coinage about twenty-seven years before the Christian era. It is avowed by writers of authority that the chief part of the Gaulish coinage was struck about the time of Julius Cæsar's invasion and conquest of Gaul; and that regal hereditary governments were then not established, except in a very minor degree, in the Gaulish states, if we rightly understand the history of those times. In Britain they were partly monarchical and partly republican. The ancient British coinage continued at least three-quarters of a century later than that of Gaul; but the legends are much circumscribed by the usually very small size of the coins, and their consequent brevity; nor, on the whole, are specimens so abundant. We will begin with Gaul, and notice first the republican chiefs.

These have been made the subjects of separate treatises by the celebrated Mionnet and by le Comte Conbrouse. The style of them usually is the name of the chief, and the state over which he presided. Both the above learned authors scarcely admitted Gaulish coins to have any other application; and I only differ from them from a full conviction that it is necessary to adopt, in many cases, more extended limits. I shall give a few examples of inscriptions applying to the chiefs, and afterwards some others. It will be

observed that the names of the chiefs are very generally titular, or partially so. We thus have ARIVOS SANTONOS, "Arivos the Santon"; ATISIOS REMOS, "Atisios the Remian"; and when we meet with the inscription, REX ADIETVANVS SOTIOTA, which is the monetary style of the king of the Sotiates, it is only one of the same class, though somewhat more dilated than usual. We have another, which we may set side by side with it, in a simpler form, CANTORIX TVRONOS, *i.e.*, "the Turone district king," and other instances. I may here briefly observe that this title of REX, or king, was but little at variance with the Celtic ideas of a republic; nor was there more power connected with it than the sway and domination usually possessed by a Gaulish chief. Thus it was, then, at that period; and, indeed, old ideas on this topic seem almost coming round again; for when Lamartine presented Louis Philippe to the people, in the year 1830, it is recorded that he said, "Voilà le roi comme il nous faut! Voilà le roi républicain!"

Sometimes the chief is only styled adjectively, by the name of his tribe, as VEROIOS, or otherwise VIROS, *i.e.*, "the Veromandian" *par excellence*, or, in other words, the Veromandian chief; KARNITOS, "the chief of the Carnutes," in the same way; as also MURINO(S), "the chief of the Morini"; and MTVBINUS (MANTVBINOS), "chief of the Mandubii," etc.

We happen to have a very indubitable instance of this custom of expressing the name of the chief from the adjective of the name of the state, which has not been noted by any one before. It is this. We have, in one of the coins of the Sequani, actually and truly the word "chief" expressed, as in the coin reading SEQVANO (TV)OS (*Duchalais*, p. 151); in which the last word, which is perfect in another somewhat varied type, expresses the *tws* or *tywys*, of the same meaning in the ancient British or in the modern Welsh. I may add to this the inscription, CONTOVTOS, brought forward by the Baron de Crazannes in the *Revue Numismatique*, vol. iii, p. 157. See *Lelewel*, p. 226, and pl. v, 13. This expresses the conjoined titles of king and chief.

Lelewel says (*Type Gaulois*, p. 238), that where we find, in the inscriptions on Gaulish coins, the name of a people terminating in *o*, as in the word SANTONO, and we might likewise say in the above instance of MURINO, the omission of the final *s* may be presumed.

Again, some chiefs assumed the names of their gods, as BELINOS, *i.e.* Apollo; SOLIMA(RIACOS), *i.e.*, "the votary of the goddess Solimariaca"; and I perfectly agree with M. De Saulcy, as quoted by Lelewel in his *Type Gaulois*, p. 377, that the well known Gaulish coin—obverse, a head of winged Victory to the left; legend, ATEVLA—should be read, "At Vlat," that is, the devotee to Mars; implying on the obverse the chief who struck the coin; whilst the reverse, which appears to represent some mythological animal to the right, and is inscribed VLATOS, may be understood to express the name of VLAT himself, that is, Mars, with the Greek termination *os* added.

But perhaps the most remarkable instance still remains to be mentioned. This was that connected with the Celtic Neptune, who was named Moritasgus, that is, the ruler or commander of the sea,—Neptune being supposed to have the chief control and preeminence in everything connected with the ocean; the Tritons, sea-gods, and sea-nymphs, being regarded as under his sway, and all navigators of the great waters at his mercy. Thus he appears to have been called MORITASGUS, or imperator of the sea. Now we find from Cæsar's *Commentaries*, v, 54, that this name had been assumed by a Gaulish chief of the Senones previous to his arrival in Gaul. Some have supposed that this Moritasgus was deified after death; but who ever heard of deification among the Gauls, except of the chiefs, *who deified themselves* when they took the names of their gods? Further, that Moritasgus was a pagan divinity, appears from an inscription in *Reinesius, Epist.* 67, p. 597, in which a certain person named Titus Claudius Professus Niger, orders a portico to be erected to his honour.

Speaking of the names of divinities assumed, I am inclined to think that another might be adduced in *Conbrouse*, No. 362, in addition to those before given. The one meant is APHTOIAMOS, possibly APHTOIAMOS; corruptedly for APHTOAMHPOS, or APHTOAMHEIS; that is, Mars Audax; in English, "Mars the Bold"; which, according to the custom of the times, might have been taken as a titular name by some aspiring warrior.

A portion of the elective chiefs had only their titles expressed, and nothing else, as CINGETORIX and VERCINGETORIX; one expressing "king", the other "high king"; TASGE-

TIUS, "the chief"; EPENOS, "the prince"; EPILOS, the same; ATPILIL, "the hereditary chief"; COMMIOS, "the chief", a title which will be considered at a future page; and COMANUS, the same, etc.

Rotomagus, the modern Rouen, whether it were republican or otherwise, gave a rather high sounding title to its ruler, which appears to have been peculiar to this place. The said title was SUTICOS, which was evidently taken from the ancient word Celtic *Swyddog*, a "magistrate or officer." The forms of the inscriptions on the coins are SVTICOS RATVMACOS (*Duchalais*, p. 155) and OSSVTICOS RATVMACOS (*Lelewel*, pl. vi, 34). The o in ancient Celtic implied the definite article. (See Dr. Owen Pughe's *Welsh Dictionary*) as in the name AMBIORIX, for which reading reference may be made to Echkel in his *Catalogus Vindobonensis*, vol. i, p. 11. Hence it has the force, as here introduced, of "*The* Magistrate of Ratumacos," *i. e.* Rotomagus.

It is only sometimes, as we find in cases connected with the term COMMIOS, that we have the name of a district, province or state expressed on a Gaulish coin; an instance notwithstanding may be cited in the inscription ANDOBRV (*Conbrouse*, 354, and *Mionnet*, in his note to his No. 205). Duchalais, who had no specimen with the two last letters, gives it with CARMANO on the reverse, p. 86, No. 295; and again as a sole legend, p. 87, No. 296. Lelewel says, p. 239, that the interpretation is *pays-Ande*, and he is right. The signification is, "The country or district of Ande," wherever that may have been. One would say, however, that Carmanum Castrum in the country of the Volcæ Tectosages should be rejected for the locality of the coins, as frequently supposed, and some other place unknown, among the Andecavi in Gallia Lugdunensis be rather assigned instead. The legend ANDOBRV is surely enough to suggest this.

Sometimes the states kept the power in their own hands, or at least expressed as if they did on their coins, as we consider the explanation of those judicious who interpret CALEDV SENODON, as the senate of the Caleti." (See *Lelewel*, p. 270 and 327.") To which perhaps may be appropriately added the KOINOS PICA(ΔOYΛOY), or "the community of Rigodulum": which was a city of Gallia Belgica. (*Lelewel*, p. 368.)

Again, there are two coins given on the authority of Duchalais, Lelewel, and others,—the one reading CORILISSOS, *i.e.*,

"the chief of Corilissos," followed by some uncertain letters; and on the reverse, portions of the word ATHIRIM: the other having on the obverse the word ATHERIAS in Greek letters; and ATHIRIM again, in full, in the Celtic, on the reverse. Here we have in the Celtic, the words "at hirim", *i.e.*, "in commemoration of"; and both these types, therefore, according to the reading of the Celtic, imply that they were struck in commemoration of persons whose names are mentioned on them.—Next as to legends of priests and temples.

(1.) There being the heads of heathen divinities very numerously on Gaulish coins, it should not surprise us if the names of priests should be of occurrence in their legends; and such, I think, is the case. The *Revue Numismatique* for 1853 (plate I, No. 2), as cited by the Marquis de Lagoy in his *Supplément à l'Essai de Monographie* (pp. 12, 15), engraves a coin inscribed on the reverse, AUSCROCOS instead of the usual reading, AUSCRO; but the name of the place, or rather the style of chief, which was probably DVRNACOS, as belonging to Durnacum, is wanting on the obverse. This expresses "Auscros the priest." The Marquis de Lagoy also himself possesses another specimen; but it is deficient, like the former one, of the inscription on the obverse. (*Ibid.*, p. 12.) Another very common legend that we meet with, is TURONOS TRICCOS. Triccos is "Tre-cos", *i.e.*, "the priest of the city"; and the whole legend, as in the Celtic, again expresses "the chief priest, or metropolitan, of the Turones." The Marquis de Lagoy engraves two types (Nos. 12 and 13 in his plate to his *Supplément à l'Essai de Monographie*, 4to., 1856), attributed by this celebrated numismatist to Cosio-Vasatum, a town in Gaul, inscribed on the obverse COSII, and on the reverse, COMAN; where the word COSII signifies priests: because we find from the type of Cisiambos Cattos (which we shall attend to presently), that the Gauls, before they discontinued coining, adopted Latin inflexions. (2.) Conbrouse, No. 516, and Lelewel, pp. 322 and 384, give an inscription on a Gaulish coin in this form, NEMET; which, though the type may be duly ascribed to Nemetacum, a city of the ancient Nemetes of Gaul, yet we know that it has the signification of "the temple", from the two following verses of Venantius Fortunatus, a poet of the sixth century:

> "Nomine Vernometum voluit vocitare vetustas
> Quod quasi fanum ingens Gallica lingua sonat."

There is another instance in a coin engraved by the early French numismatist, Bouteroue, nearly two centuries since, and which has a bearing valuable to history. This is the coin which has the inscription, PETRVCORI, *i.e.*, the "*square* côr", or place of worship. This inscription evidently implies that, at one time, the pagan temples in Gaul were round, *i.e.*, stone circles, or Druidical; and that when first a square, or otherwise oblong, temple was built after the Roman or Greek fashion, it became an object of remark, and acquired thereby a permanent name. It seems that, since the time of Bouteroue, neither his specimen, nor any other, could be met with; so that the existence of the coin became somewhat doubtful, and even a subject of ridicule, as noted by the Marquis de Lagoy with disapprobation,—the legend, PETRVCORI, having been travestied by some wits into PERRVCORI, which appears to have been intended as a *comme dire* for (*une*) *peruquierie*, or "a peruke manufactory." (*Supplément à l'Essai de Mon.*, p. 12.) At last a type of the coin in question came into the hands of M. De la Saussaye, and was engraved by him in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1851, pl. XV, and was found to be inscribed on the other side with the name of a Gaulish chief unknown in history, CINCONEPVS. (*Supplément à l'Essai de Mon.*, pp. 11-12.)

Care should be taken not to confuse the before mentioned word "cos", with the terminations of names in *os* or *us*, which have the letters *c*, *g*, or *k*, in the penultimate: such as on the words AULERCOS, DURNACOS, or RATUMACOS. In these, no term in the sense of priest was evidently intended. We should likewise except, on this same ground, the coin inscribed BIRACOS, late in the Pembroke collection; no other specimen being known. This coin is of silver. The obverse represents the head of a female divinity to the left; the reverse, a boar to the left, over which is the said inscription. It is mentioned by *Conbrouse*, No. 388, and is engraved in the *Pembroke Catalogue*, plate 94, and is probably Gaulish. The legend, AVDAICOS, sent by Duchalais to the *Revue Numismatique* in 1847, p. 273, is an erroneous reading of the inscription DVRNACOS. (*Ibid.*, p. 12.)

We find the names of two Belgic states combined together in monetary legends of the Gaulish coinage, as those of the Turones and Eburones. This implies that alliances existed between them.

The Celtic terms, RIXS, RIX, and REX, and other variations of the word, occur numerously on Gaulish coins, both compounded with names, as in the Æduan coin, DVBNOREX; and in a separate form, as REX DVBNO. The important feature connected with this title in composition, is, that it is convertible with the term ILLIL,—a word derived, as it is said, from *pilla*, dynasty,—as AMBIORIX, AMBILIL, and INDVTIOMAR, with its equivalent INDVTILLIL. This circumstance was first noticed, I believe, by the learned numismatist, Lelewel; and the fact had well nigh become obscured and lost by some strange misreadings, or rather misconceptions, of M. Duchalais (see his *Médailles Gauloises*, pp. 206-7), which made him inclined to give TAMBILO on his principal specimen, and to discredit the existence of other types reading AMBIORIX, as in the late *Pembroke Collection*, and as given by *Bouteroue*. The truth is, that the artist who engraved the die, for some reason unknown to us, struck a straight line over the first two letters, as is seen in the various Gaulish types, which occasioned the mistake of the T. However, the Marquis de Lagoy has triumphantly set the matter right. (See his *Essai de Monographie*, pp. 17-19, and his *Supplément à l'Essai*, pp. 6 and 15. The value of the reading, AMBILIL, will be fully seen in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, 8vo., 1853, pp. 62, 109, 250, *et alibi*.

Lelewel tells us, p. 246, that he made some inquiries of the celebrated *litterateur* and Celtic scholar, De Saulcy, as to the force of several words, either single or in composition, derived from the Celtic word "eppilio," to engender or beget; and he received an answer dated the 10th March, 1840, altogether in accordance with the explanation of the same class of words as has been here given, particularly specifying the words EPPILLOS, ATEPPILLOS, and EPPENNOS, for so he gives the orthography of them. In the next page, 247, Lelewel argues on the identity of meaning of the titular names *Ambiorix* and *Ambilil*, and of *Indutiomar* and *Indutillil*, which views are likewise here adopted.

There are a few types in the Gaulish coinage, which are quite of an exceptional nature, such as is that of a chief of Lexovium, a town of the Lexovii, a people of Gallia Lugdunensis, who expresses himself CISIAMBOS CATTOS VERCOBRETO SEMISSOS PVBLICOS LEXOVIO, where Cisiambus Cattus, a vercobret or magistrate, proclaims that he had

struck half asses (I write the word as pronounced) at Lexovium, *i.e.*, adopted the Roman standard in the issue of bronze coin. Another type varies the inscription to CISIAMBOS—SEMISSOS LEXOVIO PVBLIC A. See *Lelewel*, vii, 41, 42; *Duchalais*, p. 128; *Lambert*, ix, 2; and Akerman's *Coins of Cities and Princes*, p. 160, and xix, 8. Regarding the translation of this interesting legend, it must be observed, that the coin in question, which is always called the *semis* in usual Latin, is here denominated the *semissos* with the *os* put for *us*, and as the English idiom requires the reverse to be read first, the translation of the longer legend will be thus—the shorter one not being attempted, because the reading does not seem quite certain:—*Obv.* "A public semis in (the town of) Lexovium." *Rev.* "Cattus, a judge of the first rank, being Vergobret."

The supposed coins of Lucius are not now applied to him. This ancient British king and saint, who lived at the end of the second century, according to the usual tenor of accounts, abdicated the crown, emigrated to Gaul, and preached the Gospel there and in Switzerland, and had a church dedicated to him at Coire, otherwise Chur, on the Rhine, in the country of the Grisons, sixty-seven miles south-east by east from Zurich, where he was bishop, and died. (See Archbishop Usher, *Primordia*, fol., 1687, pp. 17-19, pp. 22-24, p. 29, pp. 47-49, p. 52, pp. 55-56, p. 61, pp. 67-68, p. 70, and pp. 71-73). The records of the church of Coire are said to support the accounts of his transmigration to that city (*Ibid.*, p. 71); however, the coins are not now attributed to him, but are assigned by M. De la Saussaye to Lucciodunum, in the south of France. There are two of them, one inscribed LVCCIO, the other LVCI. They have no Christian emblems, but, on the contrary, delineations of a pagan description; as, for instance, the usual wild boar of the Gauls. They are engraved in *Lelewel*, plate ix, 37 and 38.

Greek and Roman letters occur mixed very indiscriminately on many Gaulish types; as for example in the legends CORIAICCOC, HRATOS, HPOMILAOS (EROMILAOS), etc., etc., etc.; and it is indubitable that Greek words are declined on Gaulish moneys, as we have the legend on coins attributed to the Ædui, of DUBNOREX DURNOCOV meant for Greek, in which Durnocum, a place unknown, in the country

of that people, is put in the genitive case. We likewise have it as a fact, that there are Latin terminations on them. The language, then, of the inscriptions on Gaulish coins varies from a Græco-Celtic form in some coins, to a Latino-Celtic in others. It is observable that the Gauls not only mixed freely Greek and Latin letters in their inscriptions on coins, but even Celtic and Greek words, as apparently in the legend ATHERIAS ATHIRIM ; but the Caletes are asserted to be the only people of Gaul who had their legends indifferently in Greek or Latin, as KAAETEΔOY, *Lambert*, ix, 12, and CALEDV, *Ibid.*, ix, 22.

The Gauls perhaps acquired some predilection for Greek from their Delphic expeditions. We are informed that when the Romans conquered Switzerland, they found ancient Helvetian inscriptions engraved on the rocks in various places in the Greek character. (See *Tacitus*, as quoted by *Lelewel*, p. 216.

There are instances, but not very frequent ones, of Latin and Greek words mixed together in Roman inscriptions in England ; as that in Camden's *Britannia*, p. 638, the words of which run thus : DEO SANCTO BELATV CADRO AVRELIVS DIA TOV A(VTOV) ARA(M) EX VOTO POSVIT LL.MM. Here the words DIA TOV AUTOV are expressed in Greek. By the way, we may mention, that not one of the three inscriptions in *Camden*, mentioning the name *Belatucadr* are inserted or noticed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, possibly because the originals are not now preserved or easily accessible. On the other hand, two are given which are not in Camden.

It is easy to see that the mixture of Greek letters must sometimes occasion mistakes in the reading of legends so formed. As, for instance, we need but note that the C is pronounced in two different ways in the word CORIAICCOS, which has just been given. As the commencing letter, it is pronounced as a K, and when it afterwards occurs in the word, it is supposed, though without absolute certainty, to have the power of an S. Lelewel (p. 286) appears to read the HPCOM of Mionnet as ERCOM, which is shown at our page 17 from southern Belgic types, to read more properly EP COM, and it will be seen from the above, that if he had chosen, he might have even read it ERSOM.

Greek legends, as it is well known, are predominant on

the coins of Gallia Narbonensis, and are frequently of a difficult nature to explain; but slight circumstances sometimes irresistibly incline one to adopt this or that interpretation, among a great variety which may suggest themselves. For example, a coin of the Samnagetes, the inhabitants of a town dependant on the ancient Massilia, is inscribed ACTIKO (*Lelewel*, p. 251), *i.e.*, ΑΣΤΙΚΟ(Σ), implying according to the due routine of explaining Celtic legends before alluded to, in that of VIROS and some other instances, the "Native Magistrate." This is clear, and from it we explain another coin of Gallia Narbonensis, inscribed HPOMIΛAOS, (*Duchalais*, p. 91, and *Lelewel*, p. 251), which is done in this way: ΛAOS implies "race," as in Hermolaus, Donnilaus, etc., *i.e.*, "of the race of Hermes," or "of the race of Donnus," etc. Then we must understand that the Celtic H, *i.e.*, Y, is put for the Greek O; and thus we have Y-ROMI-LAOS, that is "The Roman Magistrate," who inscribes his name, in this instance, as striker of the coin. In the former case it was "The Native Magistrate" who did so.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE GAULISH COINAGE CONTINUED.

INSCRIPTIONS on Gaulish coins have frequently a reference to each other which is but little suspected by a casual observer; and thus sometimes very important types are identified and explained. Take, for instance, the type inscribed COMMIOS CARSICIOS, and that other type reading CICIIDV(N) BRI, and on the exergue of the reverse, HPAD. Here it is obvious that the two legends are in reality the same. *Commios*, in Celtic, is "chief", and *bri* is "lord"; and they answer to one another in the two coins: for one coin reads, "the confederate chief of the CAER, or fortress of Sici"; the other, "the lord of the DVNVM, or stronghold of Cici"; and on the reverse, HPAD, *i.e.*, EPAD, or Epasnactus. It is right to notice that in this EPAD, as, indeed, Duchalais remarks in his *Médailles Gauloises*, p. 2, the D stands for the barred D, and has the value of TH or S, as in the legend of the Gaulish coin inscribed VELIOCATHES, *i.e.*, *Veliocasses;* and in that on our British type inscribed QVANGETH, that is, *Quanges*, or the *Cangi*, an ancient state of the island,—a reading which caused some difficulty a few years since. Both the types are, then, coins of the Gaulish chief Epasnactus, whose moneys are found in abundance near Rouen (see Lambert's *Numismatique du Nord-Ouest de la France*, p. 145); and it would rather appear that both these coins were struck by the Sessui, a people of Gaul, neighbours to the Diablintes, to whom, and their capital, it might seem best to apply: for understand CARSICIOS to be equivalent to CARSESSIOS, and it is not difficult to suppose that Epasnactus may have had political relations with this state. The modern name of the chief city in this district is "Seez," which is at the present time a bishop's see.

I should now pass on with my subject, but having some-

what unexpectedly and undesignedly touched on a numismatic position of importance, an explanation or two may be required.

It will be explained at a subsequent page, that the name COMMIOS is titular, implying the chief or head of a confederacy; so that there will be no need to dilate on that topic here.

The important reading of CICIIDV(N) BRI, instead of the previous unmeaning one of CICIIDV BII, is due to the valuable labours of the Marquis de Lagoy; and this being established, it must be obvious that the other reading, COMMIOS CARSICIOS, must be equivalent to it, as a few words on some comparative matters will further show.

The names of places in ancient Gaul were numerous, of which the word DVNVM formed the ending, as Lugdunum, Augustodunum, Uxellodunum, Vellaunodunum, Segedunum, Virodunum, Vindunum, Melodunum, Andomatunum, Næodunum, Laudunum, etc. Similarly there are many names of places, though certainly fewer in number, of which CAR *i.e.*, CAER, a fortress, forms a part, as Carnutum, Carpentoracte, Carentomium, Caroburgus, Carmanum, etc. Now the legend HPAD, or EPAD, is connected with CICIIDV(N) BRI; it is therefore, of course, so with COMMIOS CARSICIOS, which accordingly assumes its rank as a known and received new type of Epasnactus; of which the number now becomes three, there having been only two acknowledged ones before, —and one of these only partially so.

The Marquis de Lagoy supposes, in a numismatical *mélange* he published some years since, entitled *Types Inédits*, that the type COMMIOS CARSICIOS was a coin struck at the ancient CARCICI, a place now called Cassis, and situated between Marseilles and Toulon. He was the more inclined to appropriate it thus, because (1), no other appropriation was obvious; and (2), because the inhabitants in the district in which Carcici was situated, were anciently called the Commoni, which he considered had a reference to the name or term COMMIOS of this piece of money. He had not, at that time, seen the coin itself; but having done so since, has pronounced it not to be of the manufacture of the south of Gaul; and is accordingly to be understood as assigning it to the Carcici no longer: which of course leaves the present appropriation to the Sessui quite free and open.

Undoubtedly the Sessui were much nearer Rouen, where the coins of Epasnactus are found so frequently, than Carcici, the modern Cassis, can be said to be. However, it should be added that the learned M. Duchalais having at first spoken lightly of the attribution to Carcici (*Médailles Gauloises*, p. 25), yet, in his additional *Notes* to his work (p. 429), he seems to favour the idea.

It is a circumstance somewhat peculiar, that only one specimen of the type COMMIOS CARSICIOS is known, which is the one in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris.

I am informed that the coins reading CICIIDV BRI HPAD are often found in the department of France, called Auvergne, the country of the ancient Arverni. A French numismatist, M. Francis Mioche, has written on the coins of this district under the title *Dissertation sur les Monnaies frappées en Auvergne.* The publication, however, has not come into my hands ; but it appears that the connexion of the legend COMMIOS CARSICIOS, with the above type, had not occurred to him.

The coin inscribed HP COMI, (see Mionnet's *Chefs Gaulois*, No. 32, and *Conbrouse*, from Mionnet), though only found in France, has no reference to the legend HPAD, but merely conveys to us, according to descriptions of the type, a variation of the legend EPPI COMI, of the coins of the Southern Belgæ of Britain, which will be examined presently.

There is often a considerable variation in many of the inscriptions of states and chiefs on Gaulish coins, from the forms in which we have them in Ptolemy and other ancient authors: such as in the inscription REX ADIETVANVS instead of ADCANTVANVS, *Duchalais*, p. 16 ; such as DIAOVLOS instead of DIABLINTIOS, *i.e.*, chief of the Diablintes, *Duchalais*, p. 117 ; and such as SEQNVOIO TVOS (*tws*, in British *tywys*), *i.e.*, chief or leader, for SEQV(A)NVOIO TVOS (*Duchalais*, p. 151); CAMBOTRE for CAMBOLECTRI (*ibid.*, p. 8, from the Marquis de Lagoy); and such as LIHO VI for LIXOVII (*Duchalais*, p. 127); and also IBRVIX for EBVROVIX (*ibid.*, p. 122), etc. In some cases there is much inversion, as OKIRT, *i.e.*, OKIRT(IOS) for TRICORIOS, implying the Tricorii, a people of Gallia Lugdunensis (see *Lelewel*, from Lagoy, p. 116, and plate VII, 17); as also PMA (AMPIANI) for Ambiani (*Duchalais*, p. 226); CVAM for MAVS in the legend apparently read-

ing ONNIN; reverse, MAVS, if intended as a coin of Onesiæ Thermæ, a town among the Pyrenees, in Gallia Aquitania; or NINNO MAVS, if Nemausus, as another origin of the coin, be assigned. (Compare *Duchalais*, p. 93, and *Lelewel*, pp. 117, 250.) These inversions form exceptions to the usual mode of Celtic inscriptions, and practically they occasion but few additional difficulties of interpretation.

The whole number of types of the Gaulish coinage must be very numerous, about some five thousand apparently; and the profiles and busts on them are very multifarious. But of frequent, and, indeed, almost continual, occurrence as they are, it may be doubted if there be much more than half a score of portraits in the whole Gaulish coinage; excepting, as we must do, the heads of Roman emperors, which in various instances are introduced upon them. The reason is, that the numerous busts and profiles are those of divinities. However it may be judged there are some few portraits in which personal vanity has broken through the usual rule, and followed, indeed, the Roman custom commenced by Julius Cæsar, of exhibiting mere mortals on the circulating medium. We may consider as portraits the head of the Cisiambos Cattos above spoken of (*Lelewel*, pl. VII, fig. 41); one of the heads on the coins of Pixtillus (*ibid.*, pl. VII, fig. 62); one of the heads in Lambert's plate VIII, fig. 17, inscribed ANSALI; and perhaps there may be some others. It may be judged that the above are portraits, from the great individuality of features they display.

It may be necessary to observe that the more ancient portion of the Gaulish coinage is not inscribed, except some of the very earliest specimens which were so; though the practice was afterwards discontinued, which is accounted for thus: the Gaulish coinage commenced some two or three centuries before Christ, by an imitation of the gold staters of Macedonia, which were inscribed in the exergue with the name PHILIPPOV in Greek letters. The word, it appears by ancient specimens, was first copied in full on the Gaulish imitations; afterwards some portions of it; or only mere strokes in imitation of letters, were made; then it was replaced by a scroll; and finally omitted altogether,—indeed, there was good sense in doing so, as the name did not apply to the Gauls. The representations, then, and emblems of the divinities, as has been before observed, were on both

faces of the coins; and their sacred emblems being so well known to those for whom the moneys were struck, of course no legends were required. It was only at a late period, though prior to representing the effigies of kings and rulers, that they ceased to become shocked at seeing the names of chiefs or states inscribed by the sides of the heads of their deities.

Philip the Second of Macedon was the first monarch who introduced his name on any coinage; and he did it in this way. There was the head of a divinity on the obverse, and the representation of Phœbus in his car on the reverse. He did not properly affix his name to either; and I am sure that such was not his intention; but a line was struck under the sacred emblems of the divinity, and the horses and chariot of the reverse, which virtually separated the preceding subject from aught which might follow; and underneath the said line he inserted his name, PHILIPPOV, in the genitive case; so placing it to imply that he did not appropriate either of the delineations to himself, but merely that he was the striker of the coin. In the same way we have the names of some few Gaulish chiefs, as that of Epasnactus, underneath, on the exergue, and not on the field; and the above is the reason for it.

In respect to the uninscribed types of Gaul, they have all, at different times, been classed as mere degenerated imitations of the Macedonian staters, and a gradual deterioration is said to be observable. Thus M. De la Saussaye once viewed the subject; but in describing the gold coin assigned to the druid Abaris, whose myth is mentioned by *Hecatæus*, he says: "I have been induced to modify my assertion on more than one point; and I particularly recognize religious ideas peculiar to the Celts expressed on their monetary (uninscribed) types." (See *La Revue Numismatique* for 1842, p. 165.) The Gaulish uninscribed coinage certainly originated from the staters of Macedonia, about 278 years B.C., which was the date of the Delphic expedition; but they soon made it a vehicle for conveying ideas of their own, as their delineations on their uninscribed types leave us but little cause to doubt. (See also M. Lambert's *Numismatique du Nord-Ouest de la France*, p. 4.)

Some may, perhaps, object that neither the representations of the Celtic divinity, Hû or Esus, or of the one styled

Tauros Trigaranos, nor of the three cranes, the emblems of this last, are ever found on Celtic coins. This is true. However, there is less weight to be placed on this objection; for these deities are neither named by Cæsar, Dion Cassius, nor Hecatæus, who speak of Celtic mythology; nor do they occur on Romano-British lapidary inscriptions. Thence there may be a suspicion that they were not originally Celtic divinities; but were introduced in later times by the Romans to supply national objects of worship to the Celts, after they had destroyed druidism in Gaul. The only representations of them known are those on the tablets discovered in the year 1710, under the church of Notre Dame in Paris, which date in the reign of Tiberius. (See *Montfaucon*, vol. ii, p. 424, and plate 190; and *l'Academie d'Inscriptions*, vol. iii for 1717.

The discovery under the church of Notre Dame is one of the most interesting of modern times. It was a dedication by the boatmen of Paris; and the part remaining legible gives the following names: SENANI, *i.e.*, Druids; VEILO, VOLCANVS, IOVIS, ESVS, TAVROS TRIGARANOS, CASTOR, CERNVNNOS, and SEVRIOS. Such were the deities worshipped by the Celts of Gaul in the reign of Tiberius. No Belinus or Apollo are mentioned; but not to shock too much those who had been his priesthood for centuries, the Druids are commemorated under the name of SENANI.

The Gaulish coinage, and all the minor coinages of the Roman empire, came at last rather suddenly to a conclusion. Marcus Agrippa, who was the councillor of state most in the confidence of Augustus, proposed in the year 29 B.C., that there should be but one coinage for the empire, to be struck at Rome; and one standard of weights and measures, to issue also thence. This is mentioned by Dion Cassius; and we find that Augustus went to Gaul in the year 27 B.C., that is, two years afterwards; at which time it appears probable that the native coinage was stopped by law, though I have no doubt it had been virtually suspended since the conquest of Julius Cæsar; and there are but few traces of its existence after that time. All national coinage ceased in all other nations and provinces immediately on their coming under subjection to the Roman arms.

In speaking of the Gaulish coinage, it is impossible to omit the mention of the numerous most able numismatists

by whom it has been very specially illustrated of late years: such as Duchalais, the Marquis De Lagoy, Lambert, Lelewel, Longperier, De Saulcy, De la Saussaye, and some others. M. Duchalais, to whom we are indebted for the important type, AVLERCVS—EBVROVICOM, which will be mentioned at a subsequent page, is deceased within two or three years, and must be much lamented in France. He should be still more so in England, as his work, *Les Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale* (Impériale), 8vo., 1846, forms almost a complete *corpus numismaticum* of the Gaulish coinage most useful to foreigners, and arranged and published in a most masterly form. The writings of M. Prevost de Longperier on Gaulish coins, except such part as is in his *Monnaies Françaises* (8vo., 1848), are, I believe, chiefly diffused in various periodical publications, and particularly in the *Revue Numismatique*, one series of which has been under his editorship. M. De Saulcy is the author of various detached memoirs, and is at present preparing a very extensive work on the ancient Celtic coins of France, of which the greatest expectations may be formed; and the Marquis De Lagoy and M. De la Saussaye have both advanced the knowledge of the Gaulish coinage extremely,—and, indeed, besides numerous new types, have brought the whole of antiquity, with a vast research, to bear on the subject. The patience and indefatigable spirit of inquiry of Lelewel, are quite singular, and his important labours may well here require an additional remark or two.

He is deficient in the classical regularity of De Lagoy, Le la Saussaye, and the late M. Duchalais; and writes in a style which possibly may appear harsh to a native Frenchman. However this may be, his diction is full and comprehensive, and conveys his meaning with precision. He seems to have considered the Gaulish coinage as a series of problems, and is both bold and learned in his endeavours to solve them. He is usually sufficiently cautious, except on those topics connected with popular movements and revolutions, in which he seems much swayed by his feelings; the natural consequence, perhaps, of his having taken so prominent a part, now many years ago, in the struggles in Poland. He grapples vigorously with the difficulties of Gaulish numismatics. His very animated discussions and examinations, and the independent conclusions which he forms,

might almost seem like taking the science by escalade; but his ardour is usually tempered by his philosophical spirit of inquiry, and by a due portion of literary discretion. The interest he has taken in the Gaulish coinage is the more remarkable, M. Lelewel being a native of Poland. The ancient Celts of Gaul have become, as it were, a new nationality to him.

M. E. Lambert, of Bayeux, to whom I now advert, has a beauty of style of delineation in his plates representing Gaulish coins, in which he is nearly unrivalled. The title of his work is *La Numismatique du Nord-Ouest de la France* (4to., 1844); and his discussions are not only distinguished by their learning, but also by their candour and correctness.

The whole continent of Europe has thus, by the labours of the several writers just mentioned, become acquainted with the interesting details of the Gaulish coinage,—a subject which was previously but very imperfectly known even to the French themselves. Various writers have also concurred, in the *Revue Numismatique*, in the elucidation of the subject, as the Baron Chaudruc de Crazannes, and others accustomed to contribute to that publication. Mr. Akerman, in England, has also ably illustrated this branch of science in his work entitled *The Coins of Cities and Princes* (8vo., 1846). This work of our countryman, it is right to say, supports his high reputation as a numismatist. It is well written and arranged, and, in fact, forms a very interesting publication. Besides which, the whole is illustrated by twenty-four very characteristic plates of coins, bound with the volume.

I now refer, in the next chapter, to inscriptions on Celtic coins connected with Great Britain.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE MARQUIS DE LAGOY ON THE BRITISH AND GAULISH COINAGES.

Essai sur les Médailles de Cunobelinus. 4to. Aix, 1826. (*Plate.*)

Description de quelques Médailles Inédites de Massilia, etc. 4to. Aix, 1834. (*Two plates.*)

Notice sur l'Attribution de quelques Médailles des Gaulois. 4to. Aix, 1837.

Mélanges Numismatiques : Médailles Inédites Gauloises, Grecques, Romaines, et du Moyen Age. 4to. Aix, 1845. (*Two plates.*)

Essai de Monographie d'une Serie de Médailles Gauloises d'Argent Imitées de Deniers Consulaires au Type des Dioscuri. 4to. Aix, 1841. (*Plate.*)

Recherches Numismatiques sur l'Armement et les Instruments de Guerre des Gaulois. 4to. Aix, 1849. (*Two plates.*)

Mélanges de quelques Médailles Arsacides et Gauloises. 8vo. 1855. (*Plate.*)

Essai de Monographie. Supplément. 4to. Aix, 1856. (*Plate.*)

Recherches sur l'Explication des Monogrammes de quelques Médailles Inédites des Derniers Temps de l'Empire d'Occident et de l'Epoque Mérovingienne. 4to. Aix, 1856. (*Plate.*)

Médailles Gauloises. 8vo. Paris, 1857. (*Two plates.*)

Besides various numismatic papers inserted in the *Revue Numismatique.*

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## PUBLICATIONS OF M. DE LA SAUSSAYE.

Numismatique de la Gaule Narbonnaise. 4to. Blois, 1842. (*Twenty-three plates.*)

Monnaies des Æduens. 8vo. (*Two plates.*)—Etc., etc.

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## PUBLICATIONS OF M. E. LAMBERT.

Numismatique du Nord-Ouest de la France. 4to. Paris, 1844. (*Twelve plates.*)

Dissertations sur un Symbole Gaulois. 4to. Caen, 1848. (*Plate.*)

Observations Relatives aux Phaleres (*horse ornaments*) et aux Enseignes Militaires des Romains. 4to.—Etc., etc.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS—GENERAL STYLE OF CUNOBELINE'S LEGENDS—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE COINS OF THE ICENI AND ON THE MONEYS OF THE SOUTHERN BELGÆ OF BRITAIN, ETC., ETC.

IN respect to Celtic inscriptions on ancient British coins, the preferable arrangement will be, to notice those first that relate to Cunobeline; afterwards, those of his sons; to be followed by those of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni; and by the coins of the south-eastern Belgæ of Britain; and to be concluded by a few miscellaneous types.

We should first advert to the name Cunobeline; and it will pretty readily appear, from its form, that he took the appellation of his god. This was an exceedingly common proceeding in Britain in ancient times, as the names of the kings which have come down to us are nearly all such, as Cassivellaunos, Prasutagus, Adminius, Dubnovellaunos, etc.; and it was even a custom in Roman times, as is seen in the names *Jovius* and *Herculius*, which were assumed by Diocletian and Maximian. The names also were common with them among the middle classes, of Phœbitius, Delphidius, Minervius, and the like. The style, then, of Cunobeline was "the king Belinus," or Apollo, the one being the same divinity as the other. Herodian is supposed to assert this in his account of the siege of Aquileia (in his eighth book, c. 3); but the passage is not quite clear. Ritter, in his *History of Gaul* (p. 257), gives inscriptions in which Apollo Belinus is mentioned; likewise Ausonius, in his verses to Attius Patera, calls the priests of Belenus, "Apollinares mystici," *i.e.*, those who practised the mystical rites of Apollo: and it is, by the way, observable that this poet calls the priests of Belenus, Druids ("Beleni Druidæ"). See his *De Burdigalæ Professoribus*, iv, v, x.

The inscription at Plumpton Wall, in Cumberland, men-

tioned by Lysons in his *Reliquiæ Romanæ* (No. 37), does not contravene the explanation which I have just given. This inscription is expressed, DEO MARTI BELATVCADRO, etc.; for there I apprehend that the word BEL is not the proper name of a divinity, and is not to be understood for Belenus, but is an epithet, together with the words that follow (ATV-CADRO), of Mars. But see this point further examined in the *Glossary*.

I must now premise that Cunobeline, who was very devoted to the Roman interests, latinized so much, that some of his legends might almost pass for Latin: indeed, various of them are only reclaimed for the Celtic by one or two words of the reverse. Our first inscription will be an instance of this,—CUNOBELINUS REX; and on the reverse, TASC(IO), which expresses in English, "Cunobeline the king and imperator", or commander, that being the signification of the word TASCIO; so that this legend is essentially Celtic, though much latinized. This is the fullest legend of Cunobeline which is merely titular; the others of this nature being usually of two words, and contracted, as CUNOB. TASC., CUNO. TASC., and the like.

The term *tascio*, or *tasciovanus* (which is the more latinized form of it), as has already been adverted to, may, perhaps, still require some further passing remark. The precise meaning is, indeed, that of the Latin word *imperator*, in the sense, not of emperor, but of chief or commander; and it is the same as the Irish word *taioiseach*, of the like import. I admit that it is not found in the mediæval dialect of the ancient British language; for it is not the same, as I formerly supposed, as the Welsh word *tywysog*, which, on further examination, I have found to have originated from the Latin words *duco* and *duces*. This misapprehension of mine, which I here set right, has been unfortunate as tending to create prejudice, though not affecting the main groundwork of the explanation, which is otherwise correct.

The archaic dialects of the Celtic will most help us out; for we have corroboration, in ancient British names, of those of PRASUTAGUS, TAXIMAGULUS, and others; and in those among the ancient Gauls, of TASGETIUS and MORITASGUS, mentioned in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, vi, 54; while we find in the *Geography* of Ravennas that the word was used adjectively in British names in the sense of "royal", as is the

case three or four times in that work: for instance, in the words *Nemetotacio* (*Nemet-o-tacio, i.e.*, the royal temple) and *Taischia-voran*, that is, "Voran the royal city"; which were names of places among the Caledonian Britons; and we may safely infer that where the adjective remains, the substantive formerly existed. An objector may say that sometimes *Tascio* is used as a sole legend. It is so; and in those cases it is used substantively, and means "the sovereign." The ancient Britons, from their regarding, as they did, so exclusively the present moment, and their considering all that related to themselves of so much interest, thought it sufficient to express the word (the) "sovereign" on their coins, in the idea that the semi-barbarian monarch of the day would never be forgotten or confused with any other sovereign of the country. The practice was altogether rude and inconsiderate; for in the lapse of a few years it naturally became doubtful who the monarch might be who thus merely styled himself "the sovereign."

Two coins of Cunobeline have made their appearance within no such long time since, in the legends of which TASCIIOVANII is varied to TASCIIOVANTIS; for the latter of which see *Gentleman's Magazine*, for March 1860, p. 271, as likewise the *Numismatic Chronicle*,—the former having appeared some eighteen months before. I have not seen the coins; but on a *primâ facie* view, such a legend is not at all improbable, as Cunobeline so ardently endeavoured to latinize his country's language. We have seen before, at a previous page, that TASCIIO was used as an adjective; where, then, is the difficulty in supposing that TASCIIO was used as a verb? In which case TASCIIOVANTIS would be the regular and proper participle of the present tense, and answering precisely to the IMPERANTIS of the Latins. The interpretations, then, which have been given of this title would be rather strengthened than otherwise by this reading. But now to proceed with my subject.

The name of Cunobeline as king of the Belgæ or Firbolgi, as expressed on his coins, is frequently put in the genitive case, after the example of the word PHILIPPOV, *i.e.*, "the money of Philip," on the coins of Macedon. Thus we have the inscription, CVNOBELINI TASCIOVANI F(IRBOLG), as much as to say, "the money of Cunobeline the imperator, commander, or leader, of the Firbolgi or Belgæ."

This genitive case occurring, as it does, on ancient British coins, will be found a topic of importance to all such persons who may be making similar inquiries to the present. It will be therefore necessary to make a few remarks upon it.

This genitive case is *not* the usual genitive case as defined in that excellent treatise on syntax, the *Eton Latin Grammar*, in these terms, that when two nouns of a different signification occur in juxtaposition together, the last is put in the genitive case, "as the love of money." Nor is it merely the possessive genitive which requires some tense of a verb and a noun to precede, as "pecus est Melibœi," *i.e.*, the cattle are of Melibœus (see the *Eton Latin Grammar* again); but this is an absolute possessive genitive, which is put alone, and in which everything else connected with it is omitted by the figure *ellipsis*. The Greek word ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, which I have just before alluded to, is also an instance of the same grammatical form.

This absolute genitive case appears to occur in the inscriptions of ancient British coins more frequently, when compared with the number of types, than in any other ancient coinage that can be suggested; and I have thus afforded the student full means of understanding it when it occurs. However, to familiarize it the more, and to remove all cavil, I will refer to some types of Augustus, a contemporary monarch, in which this form will be observed to occur. Such, for instance, is the reverse inscribed ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡΟΣ (see J. G. King's *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum*, plate x, 62, *Bronze Coins*); also ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ (*Ibid.*, pl. x, 74); and a silver coin, MARTIS VLTORIS (Akerman's *Roman Imperial Coins*, 8vo., 1834, vol. i, No. 66, p. 136). I may likewise further give a coin of Cleopatra,—*obv.*, CLEOPATRÆ REGINÆ REGVM FILIORVM REGVM; *rev.*, ANTONI ARMENIA DEVICTA. (*Ibid.*, No. 1, p. 120.)

The F on the coins of Cunobeline being placed by itself, has been mistaken by many for F(ILIUS); but Mr. Akerman has shewn, while treating of another topic, in his work on the *Coins of Cities and Princes* (p. 150), on the authority of the work of M. De la Saussaye (*Numismatique de la Gaule Narbonnaise*, pp. 180-182), that F on coins may stand for other words besides *filius*, as it does on the medals of Sextantio, where it is read as SEX(TANTIO) F(ELIX), according to the Roman idiom of "favoured" or "propitious", in which

sense this last term is often used. M. Duchalais, in his *Médailles Gauloises* (p. 94), though with objections, admits the said coins, according to M. De la Saussaye's reading, in his lists.

There are several peculiarities in the coins of the town of Sextantio, which came out in M. De la Saussaye's discussions on the subject. This learned numismatist corresponded, it seems, with the Marquis De Lagoy relating to these coins and their legend; and the Marquis, observing the close similarity of the types of the reverses, on which a bull is delineated, with those of the coins of the neighbouring city of Nemausus, was inclined to think that they formed quite an exceptional case, and that they might have been mere *billets*, or entrance tickets, prepared at Nemausus for public games at that place; but at the termination of the correspondence he says, in correction of this opinion, "Je ne suis pas très éloigné d'adopter votre attribution." (See *La Gaule Narbonnaise*, p. 182.)

Another place in Spain, though named Sex only, and not Sextantio, lying on the Mediterranean sea, near Malaga, has three types,—two in Punic characters, and one in Roman letters inscribed F.I.SEX. This last, singularly enough, affords another instance of a varied use of the F as the foregoing inscription, and is read by M. Lindberg, who very learnedly assigned the three coins to Sex, as F(IRMIVM) I(VLIVM) SEX. (See Akerman's *Coins of Cities and Princes*, p. 55, and an engraving of the third coin at p. 200.) I have mentioned the coin more particularly, as it might easily be mistaken for the other coins of Sextantio which have only the name of the place expressed short, as SEX.

I may briefly describe the other legends of Cunobeline by observing that many consist in the sovereign's name being joined with those of various towns in his dominions, as of Verulam, Solidunum (Bath), and others.

Cunobeline, in striking the legends, TASCIO VER, TASCIO SEGO, TASCIO SOLIDV, and TASCIO VRICON, merely meant to say that those towns belonged to him; but VER sometimes stands as a sole legend, which appears to imply, that it being a powerful city, he allowed it the privilege occasionally of striking its own coins. Cunobeline always puts to Camulodunum a part of his name Cunobeline, *i.e.*, CVNO or CVN. It cannot fail of being observed, by a reference to previous

pages, on what a widely different principle from that which predominated in the moneys of Britian, the name of a chief and town were united on Gaulish coins.

A word or two may be said on the coins of Verulamium. In the first place they are very numerous, both in an autonomous form, and as connected with the name of Cunobeline. In an autonomous form they are inscribed VER; and if we believe some rather doubtful ones, VERO and VERV; and in various that are better authenticated, VERVLAMIO. When allied with Cunobeline's name, the legend is never more than plain VER, and once as V. only. Every thing argues an ancient, independent city and community on this spot, which may be considered to have conferred a favour on the kings of Cunobeline's family, by putting itself under their domination. It was one of the two towns which, in Roman times, were invested with the chief dignity, having the title, together with Eboracum (that is, York), of a *municipium*, which no other town in the island had. Indeed, it went off the stage with dignity after the Romans left; for after being a species of centre of military operations in the British times in the beginning of the sixth century, and sustaining a siege or two, and being rescued from the invaders, it was at last finally captured and destroyed by the Saxons somewhere about the year 555, when all was levelled with the ground, and the whole of the inhabitants put to the sword or dispersed: not, however, before the town clerk, or some spirited official, had buried the public records of the noble old town, together with some memoranda of St. Alban, their Christian saint, in a damp-proof and secure vault; whence, according to Matthew Paris, they came to light in the reign of Henry II, but were not preserved. A fine theatre has likewise been partially excavated and uncovered here about the year 1850.

Many have supposed the title *Tascio* to express a different person from Cunobeline, and to be not a title, but a proper name; and, in fact, to imply, not Cunobeline himself, but his father. But numismatists should be consistent, and should study Celtic coins as Celtic coins, and according to the rules by which they should be studied; which is, that the names of monarchs in Celtic legends are almost invariably titular, or else names of their gods assumed for names of kings and warriors; whether it be Cunobeline in Britain

(named from the god Belinus or Apollo), or Vercingetorix in Gaul. The word TASCIO, or TASCIOVANVS, is not the name of a god; and though it be indeed a title, yet we find it so constantly connected with Cunobeline, that it may be considered that Cunobeline is meant whenever the mention of this word occurs. The longer form, Tasciovanus, it may be specified, is to be viewed solely as a latinization of the more common form Tascio.

If it be asked, Why not cut the Gordian knot at once? and since there are indisputably words following the name of Cunobeline, reading TASC.F. and TASCIOVANI.F., why not read them off without hesitation as "Cunobeline the son of Tasciovanus"? So many are inclined to do; but all correct numismatists,—and I am sorry I am obliged to use such precise terms, but truth and fact constrain me, and I mean no offence,—find themselves stopped at once by the consideration that there are two coins (the one Mr. Wigan's, the other Lord Braybrooke's) which positively and actually read, after Cunobeline's name, TASC.FIR. This is enclosing the Gordian knot in a sword-proof case of iron, as to any solution of it in the way of "filius." It only then remains to make the best of the word "fir" as it stands, conjoined with "imperator" or commander.

What, then, is "fir"? The answer is, that it is the first syllable of the word "Firbolg", or Belgæ, an ancient race, respecting whom there is abundant testimony in multifarious sources, beginning with Julius Cæsar, that they came over as invaders from the Continent, and held the midland and south-eastern parts of Britain. The name of these people, then, was preserved. They still held the midland and south-eastern parts of Britain in Cunobeline's time; and he was proud of styling himself their "imperator", or otherwise king, —that is, of the midland portion; and we know by his coins reading SEGO(NTIUM) that he held domination over some portion of the southern division of these people. Here then is the iron case taken off the Gordian knot; and I think we may pronounce it, thus explained, as divided by the sword of truth.

Various persons, however, disregarding all considerations, have persisted in reading the F. on Cunobeline's coins as "filius"; but it may be judged with what results, as it has been found on the coins of the southern Belgæ, and, as might be expected, on the coins of the sons of Cunobeline.

Some may ask the question, why, if this be the correct explanation, the discovery has not been made before, but has been delayed to the middle of the nineteenth century? In answer. One great cause is, that it was imperfectly explained at first. Camden was led astray by the learning of Dr. David Powel; and as time progressed, learned men wrote elaborate treatises to set this or that point right in the details; but in vain. For they might attempt to set right. They might shew the improbability, and even absurdity, of some received idea; but the whole system of explanation being wrong, it was only to introduce errors equally glaring. Drs. Pettingal and Pegge, who published about the same time,—the one in 1763, the other in 1766,—are so striking instances of this, that it will require some special mention of their labours, which may be useful in developing this heretofore enigma of ancient British coins.

Pettingal's treatise (4to., 1763) was, strictly speaking, one merely of an etymological nature. He did not dissent from Camden. He thought with him, that the inscription TASCIO on British coins merely implied "the tax", from *tasgu*, to pay or to tax, as in the Welsh language; but he perhaps had some Cambrian blood in his veins, and was evidently indignant that both these terms should be merely considered to be derived from the *taxatio* and *taxare* in the Latin. He shews the contrary to this; and in a most masterly manner, and with a great display of learning, he traces the words TASCIO and TAGOS, in their various forms and modifications, through a great range of ancient and modern languages; and he very effectually shews, in going over his ground, what TASCIO really implied, and makes it appear very clearly that it is a titular distinction. Yet he was spell-bound. He did not venture to use his senses; and with him TASCIO was "a tax" still. He professed no more than to support Camden in interpreting the inscription as "tax", in the light of its being imposed by the "tagos" or lord; whilst it is impossible that any one could shew its true meaning more clearly than he did. Pettingal, it is evident, did not like the responsibility of introducing new interpretations of ancient British coins.

Pegge, apparently, made more light of Pettingal, from this his timidity, than he otherwise would have done. In particular, he affects not to know how the word TASCIO can be

derived from *tagos*. But why not? The Greek word *tasso* or *tatto*, to command, has the imperfect tense in the form of *etagon*, and the perfect as *etaxa*, which sufficiently shews the flexibility of the word; so that no doubt is left on that point. He, in fact, made no use of Pettingal's learning and numerous happy references to antiquity, but ran aground on a crotchet of his own, *i.e.*, that the word TASCIO was no other than the name of the artist whom Cunobeline employed to engrave the dies from which the coins were struck. But ancient British coins assimilate with Roman and Greek coins, which have never the name of the artist expressed on them, nor have Gaulish coins. It is only Merovingian coins of Gaul which have; and some few uncertain coins of nearly the same date, and which seem evidently connected with them, as those barbarous ones inscribed TOTO MONETARIO, etc. He, besides, admitted no British coins, except those of Cunobeline: no coins of Cunobeline's sons; none of the Iceni, —in fact, none of any other kind. Even the coin of Caractacus inscribed CEARATIC, he believed to be a coin of Cunobeline's struck at Caractacon, which is mentioned in the *Itineraries*, and is supposed to be the modern Catterick, and which was situated even as far off as Yorkshire. It can scarcely be credited, yet notwithstanding these drawbacks, his essay on the coins of Cunobeline is almost the best which has been published. It is drawn up in a very readable form, and the interest is well kept up from the first line of it to the last. He was extremely well read in all that had been written on ancient British coins down to his times,—which was a great thing for his purpose,—and had it well in recollection. The two plates in his volume are very respectable, being engraved partly from coins and partly from books; and they give a good view and illustration of Cunobeline's coins as far as known at that date, that is, in the year 1766. As to other matters, he seems to have been much biassed by the disparaging remarks which Dr. Wise made on ancient British coins in various passages of his *Bodleian Catalogue;* but if Wise biassed Mionnet, it is no wonder.

Enough may have been said on this topic, which yet might not so well have been passed by *sub silentio*. I now then revert to the coins of the sons of Cunobeline, of whom the names appear to have been as follow:

(1.) Amminus, or Adminius, or otherwise Aedd, and his

name appearing to be inscribed in the first and last forms on coins. (2.) Caractacus appearing as KERAT and CAERATIC on coins; and as the "son of Bran" (*i.e.*, of the king) in the *Triads;* and as Gueiridd and Arviragus in the *Chronicles.* (3.) Togodubnus appearing as DUBNOVELLAUNOS on coins, and Guydir in the *Chronicles;* and (4), Belinus, unmentioned on coins, and of whom the only notice occurs in one of the *historical Triads,* that is, in *Triad* 79.

The coins of Adminius and Togodumnus are noticeable from the occurrence of various symbols upon them, as bucrania, *i.e.*, the skulls of oxen; circles of dots, cases of sacrificial knives, double circles, serpents, and loose horses. The upholding the nationality of the Britons, and of the Druidical religion, are supposed to be implied in these emblems.

The coins of Adminius are one type, reading AMMINVS; *reverse,* DVN; which is an unique type in Mr. Wigan's cabinet, and cleverly read and appropriated by the Marquis de Lagoy; also various types apparently reading AEDORIX, *i.e.*, "Aedd the king"; and one late in Mr. Cuff's cabinet, engraved by Ruding; and also in the *Coins of Cunobeline,* p. 78, fig. 2; the legend, imperfect, but appearing to have read (AEDD RI)X OLL, *i.e.*, "Aedd the sole king."

The coins of Caractacus are two, reading KERAT and KERATI, in mixed Greek and Roman letters; and two types apparently giving CAERATIC, partially in mixed letters also, —the one published by Camden, and the other by Speed, and both inscribed TASCIF on the reverse. The coins of Togodumnus are inscribed DVBNOVELLAVNOS, intimating that he was the chief of the Dobuni; and of Belinus, as before said, there are none.

Some have proposed to read the coins inscribed CEAPATIC (CEARATIC), expressed in mixed Greek and Roman letters, as EPATICVS; which idea seems to have had partial currency since the beginning of last century, as in Pegge's *Coins of Cunobeline,* p. 78, we are informed that Walker, Bishop Gibson's numismatist, was inclined to read EPATICA (see also Gibson's *Camden,* vol. i, p. cxi); from which reading, it appears, Dr. Pegge dissented. This view is supposed to be supported by a coin which has of late made its appearance; but the reading of the coins before known, seems by far the most genuine, as the coin above alluded to appears to have been brought forward without due authority, as far as I can

discover. In the engraving given in Speed's *History of England*, at pp. 176 and 195, which I regard as the most authentic representation, two curved or semilunar lines seem somewhat uncertainly to express the first C; which circumstance, I conclude, has occasioned the dubitation respecting this type.

Dr. Pegge, who thought that the legend CEARATIC applied to an ancient British town, speaks of it as a known fact in his days, that there were no coins in existence of the sons of Cunobeline. (See his *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 20.) In our days we are in a much better position, and have well authenticated and established types of three of them, that is, of Caractacus, Adminius, and Dubnovellaunos. Caractacus, I think, also caused some of the states under his control to strike coins impressed with emblems considered British and patriotic, during the final struggle with the Romans. I will then offer these brief notes respecting these sons, and principally of Caractacus.

I. Adminius, the eldest, surrendered himself to Caligula, then in Belgium, about the year 41, as appears by Suetonius, *Caligula*, 44 and 47. As he could not have coined in his father's lifetime, he must have returned to Britain about the same time as Vericus. There is a nationality about his types, as just before mentioned, which seems to shew he joined his countrymen against the Romans.

II. Togodumnus, who had been evidently appointed chief of the Dobuni either by his father or by Caractacus, was defeated immediately on coming in contact with the Romans, and killed in a subsequent conflict or skirmish. (*Dion. Cass.* lx.)

III. Caractacus, the noble son of Cunobeline, has no titular name that has come down to us; so that we do not know what province he governed previous to his father's death. He states himself, on one of his coins, as REX CALLE, *i.e.*, of Calleva, the capital of the Atrebates. On another coin he has TASCI F(IRBOLG), or imperator of the Firbolgi, which had been his father's title.

The three brothers were all greatly out-generaled by the Romans on their invasion, who landed at Southampton instead of Richborough; and it does not appear that they had sufficient tactics to repair the fault. Togodumnus was first beaten, then Caractacus, and then both together, they having been surprised in their camp, on the site of the present

Gloucester, as they were collecting a third army; after which the Britons retreated down the banks of the Thames into Essex, where the Romans themselves received a severe defeat from Caractacus near the embouchure of the river Lee, among the marshes; about which time Vericus was killed, as was Togodumnus also. The next spring, Caractacus and his confederates were defeated by the emperor Claudius, who had now arrived with augmented forces, and Camulodunum, the metropolis and pride of the Britons, was captured. Thus passed the first two years of the war. Then the war of the Southern Belgæ in junction with the Dumnonii occupied two more years. Then five years more followed, in which the Silures and Ordovices seem to have been his chief adherents; and the whole nine years ended with his flight to the protection of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who gave him up to the Romans. His chief feature seems to have been perseverance, as we only find that he beat the Romans on one occasion, which was in the battle before mentioned, in Essex. The coins which it may be presumed he influenced the provinces to strike during the struggle with the Romans, are those inscribed ATT. CORI. QVANGETH, COMVX., and BODVOC. These are in the ancient Celtic form, and consequently anti-Roman.

IV. Belinus, the fourth son, is not known to have struck any coins; and the only mention of him extant, as before said, is in *Triad* 79, in which he is said to have brought his forces into the field, and maintained them at his own charge, in the war of Caradog.

There appears to be a series of coins applying to Prasutagus and the Iceni. The miscellaneous coins of the Iceni are inscribed SITMV, *i.e.*, Sitomagus; IVGANTES, ECEN. CAM-DVRO; *rev.*, IVIG(ANTES), etc., etc. At first there was only one type applying to Prasutagus, which appears to read on the obverse, VRE(IS) BOD(VOG), and on the reverse, TASCI; which we may interpret, "Vreis, or Rhys, the Victorious"; and the reverse, "Imperator," or commander. I judge that the word Vreis, from its Celtic etymology, is the name of Mars; and that Prasutagus, according to the custom in Britain, took upon himself the appellation of that divinity, styling himself "Mars the Imperator, or chieftain"; and that thus his name was not properly Prasutagus, but Vreisutagus.

A bronze coin of Prasutagus was found a few years since

in a tumulus near Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire, by Lord Braybrooke. The obverse, a head somewhat overloaded with hair and beard (probably a portrait of the monarch), to the left, with a legend somewhat obliterated, reading RVEIS, *i.e.*, VREIS, for VREISVTAGVS; reverse, a horse unmounted, also to the left. Some coins of the same type have been published this present year (1860) by John Evans, Esq., secretary of the Numismatic Society, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Icenian coins with heads formed part of the "Weston find" in Norfolk in the year 1852; but the description of them appears to have been accidentally omitted in the account of this discovery in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of that year, pp. 99-102; so that we remain deficient of information in this respect.

The reader, I hope, will not think what I have said of the legends of Prasutagus and the Iceni desultory and unconnected; but, in fact, I touch on the subject so briefly, that very much in the way of explanation and corroboration is consequently left out, and hence some obscurities may appear. The reader may be referred to the *Britannic Researches*, and to the *Coins of Cunobeline*, for explanations which space will not permit of here.

We now come to the legends, the most interesting of any in Great Britain. We have seen the mysterious F on the coins of Cunobeline, which I have ventured unhesitatingly and fearlessly to interpret as "Firbolg." The same F appears on the coins of the Southern Belgæ of Britain, who, according to the best authorities we possess, who have written on these ancient times, were the very Firbolgi themselves, and a true part and parcel of that race in Britain. We have great encouragement, then, to appropriate that legend; to hail our friends the Firbolgi again, and to consider it both possible and probable, and actually a fact, that they should have inscribed their name on their coinage, from this indication afforded by the first letter of it, the commencing F. But this is not all. We meet with this F constantly and invariably in conjunction with the word COM., which is agreed on all hands to be a contraction of the word COMMIOS. Now what is this COMMIOS? Is it the proper name of one man, or the name of a class? Is it official, in fact? Or is it the name of a jurisdiction or territory? In answer. It is a name that both signifies a jurisdiction, and the holder

of that jurisdiction also. In this last form I think we have it; and in this last sense I would apply it as occurring in the ancient British coinage. In a word, I read in a double signification, COM. F. on the coins of the Southern Firbolgi, of Britain; that is, as the confederacy of the Belgæ, and as the chief at the head of it; and it is singular that the French words *comte* and *comté* are very nearly a case in point, except that the final *é* of the latter is accented, to show that it is not silent. But remember that four centuries back neither the *e* of the one or the other was silent, but both vocal, if I may so express myself. The heraldic office in England, styled *Rouge croix*, like the ancient COMMIOS, is in the same predicament; for the term "rouge croix" implies both the office and the person who exercises the duties of it. The same custom likewise prevails in our English House of Lords, in the case of an office which is called that of the "Black rod"; and other instances might be produced.

Further, there was the same conventionality among the Romans; for Ausonius, *De Professoribus Burdigalæ*, Carmen IV, addresses a person styled Attius Patera Pater, whom we may judge was so denominated as being the person who was accustomed to have the *patera* or sacrificial vessel so called, and to make offerings therefrom in the worship of the pagan divinity Apollo, at Bourdeaux.

Great, indeed, must be the ellipse, almost amounting to an absolute *hiatus* or chasm, in all these cases; whether it be in the instance of COMMIOS for the government and governor, or in those of our more familiar terms "Black rod" and "Rouge croix". Notwithstanding, they are ellipses after all; and when Shakespeare, in his *Antony and Cleopatra*, makes Antony address the latter, Act iii, sc. 7, "O Egypt, Egypt!" for "O queen of Egypt!" he shows himself intimately skilled in the machinery and construction of this department of grammar, and keeps within its bounds. Now, what do we know about the word COMMIOS or COMIOS from the illustration afforded us by the Gaulish coinage? Why, that it occurs on the coins of four states in France; viz., on the coins of Carmanum, a town, as supposed, of the Andecavi; in the legend COMMIOS CARMANOS, as in *Duchalais*, No. 298; again, on the coins of the Sessui, to which allusion has been made, in COMMIOS CARSICIOS (see p. 8; and *Duchalais*, p. 24); and further on, the coins of the Ande-

cavi, a people of Gallia Lugdunensis, in the legend ANDECOMBOS (*Duchalais*, No. 358). In this the title "Commios" occurs in a somewhat composite form; for the "bos", or judge in Celtic, is added, apparently the same as the singular distinction of "Vercobret", of the like import, among the Ædui (*Duchalais*, p. 28). Lastly comes the important inscription of the Eburones, AULIRCO(S) EBUROVICOM, to which before allusion has been made. M. Duchalais has given us this in his page 121, after it had escaped Lelewel and other most eminent numismatists. The inscription, as given by others, in the form EBVROVICO IV (*Lelewel*, p. 239), conveyed no meaning; but, according to the orthography which Duchalais found to be correct, it explains the Gaulish and British coinages, and dissipates error more than whole volumes, and very learned ones too, which might be written. This is so; while, in the somewhat analogous form of COMANUS, it occurs on the coins of three or four states more of ancient Gaul.

This title COMANUS has some more ancient historical associations connected with it than that of COMMIOS, as it is mentioned in the earlier annals of Massilia by Justin, in his *History*, xliii, 4, as the designation of one of the Gaulish kings, who made war against that city in the sixth century before the Christian era. In comment on this passage, it appears sufficiently clear from a reference to his ensuing chapter (5), that this Comanus, king of the Segobrigii, was a confederate with the Ligurians and other Gauls, which, as I have undertaken to pronounce, is the unvarying meaning of the word.

The Commius of Cæsar, who was he? Why, he was the confederate head of one or more states in which there was no king at the time, and in which this was the highest title. There are no coins extant of this Commius that we know of, for we cannot get at his real name; and having afterwards been made king of the Atrebates by Cæsar (*Bell. Gal.*, iv, 21), and subsequently of the Morini (*Ibid.*, vii, 16), he may have coined under one of these titles, if he coined at all. However, the Gaulish coin (*Lelewel*, vi, 28) inscribed MVRINO(S) may have been one which applied to him; since, according to the rules of the Gaulish coinage, which have been treated of at a previous page, that inscription implies "Chief of the Morini." Further, in regard to the legend

COMMIOS; sometimes we find on British coins the word REX conjoined with it; which appears to be no contradiction. Indeed, it is very similar to the addition BOS in the legend ANDECOMBOS, which we have just seen. The word is combined with the epithet magil (great), as in the year 577, in the *History* of Henry of Huntingdon, in the name Commagil.

The interpretation in a titular sense forms the true key for explaining the inscriptions on ancient British coins; and, indeed, of the moneys of all the Celtic races, British, Gaulish, Pannonian, or of any other there may be. This general pass-key will unlock the significations of them all. Having obtained this key, the correct explanation will depend on the skill and experience of the numismatist: and etymology, which is frequently only a trifling science, and a thing of mere curiosity, correct etymology, is here a very necessary ingredient, as the legends are generally expressed in Celtic words of a very antiquated meaning, or perhaps such as are out of use entirely. There are some persons who affect to laugh at etymology as an absurd thing; but, whether absurd or not, it must be used in these researches, for it is as necessary as a ladder to a builder; "che non scala a fattor" (Petrarch's *Canzonets*, part ii, 48), and the builder must venture on his ladder, though it be sometimes not quite safe.

Titular interpretation of British coins was first suggested in the year 1771 by Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester;* but he scarcely more than touched on the subject. It was Thierry, who, after three volumes of research, pronounced some few years since that he believed that scarce a single Gaulish personal name has come down to us, but that they are all titular; it is this writer who has made the point no longer a matter of doubt. (See his *History of the Gauls*, ii, 8, and iii, 97.) How any numismatists will continue to shut their eyes to this I do not know; though forged coins, I admit, may do a great deal, and probably plenty will be manufactured. Lelewel was evidently aware of titular interpretation of Gaulish coins in his *Type Gaulois*, but made but little use of it.

As to there being no coins of the Commius of Cæsar under that name. This Commius after a few years became averse to Roman usages (Cæsar, *Gaulish Wars*, viii, 39), which might have been a reason for not adopting the custom of coining. It is certainly somewhat extraordinary,

though there be various types inscribed COMMIOS, that none apply to him; but on examination they will all be found to belong to other parts of Gaul than those to which his sway extended; as the types COMIOS CARMANOS, COMMIOS CARSISIOS, etc., etc., and the like of the coins inscribed COMANVS. Even the coin bearing the legend EBVROVICOM could not have been struck by him, because it belonged to the territories of the Eburones, and not to those in his possession: nor could either the coin inscribed VDECOM any more have done so, because it belonged to the state of the Viducasses (see the subsequent chapter, xi), which again lay too much to the south. M. De la Saussaye also stated in a private letter, with which I was favoured some years since, that he knew of no coin inscribed COMMIVS which there was any appearance applied to this chief. Notwithstanding this sufficient testimony, the late learned Archdeacon Williams, one of the *illuminati* in the literature of the last half century, and a special researcher into the affairs of ancient Britain, asserts in his *Essay* (8vo., 1858), p. 297, that "the Commius of Cæsar is supposed to have struck coins bearing his name, which have been found on both sides of the Channel"; and that he was the first who inscribed letters on coins. Need we wonder at the confused way in which the details relating to our ancient British history are treated of by even our most eminent writers? To return to my previous subject.

I give my explanation of the legend COM. F. after mature deliberation; well convinced as I am that no other explanation of it will ever be given worthy of the least attention. For wherever the name of a ruler is mentioned of these southern Belgæ or Firbolgi, the words COM. F. are sure to be on his coins: even as late as about a century after the date of the Commios of Cæsar, or of about the date of the year 45 of the Christian era, as in the legend VERIC. COM. F.; which seems to indicate that the expression was rather of a general nature, and applied to some peculiarity in the government or political condition of these Belgæ or Firbolgi.

That this explanation has not been already universally received, should teach us caution. It has not been universally received before, because both the ancient Gaulish and British coinages, though Celtic coinages, have been viewed rather as bastard or debased Roman coinages, than as what they actually are, as Celtic coinages *sui generis*.

There are some who make reference to the coins of Juba II, by way of disparagement to the types of Cunobeline and their inscriptions; as much as to say,—here are types inscribed with REX, which is undoubtedly to be taken and accepted as a Latin word; why then say that the REX on Cunobeline's coins is Celtic? In answer. We have REX on Juba's coins; and on the reverse, IOVB. II., or something of the kind,—as I have not this moment a good impression before me,—and I consider that in this case the REX is undoubtedly Latin, since Juba II lived in captivity in Rome for many years in the reign of Augustus, and at last was restored to his Mauritanian dominions by that monarch, with the title of REX; therefore we have no good reason to think it is any other language than Latin, especially as we have no evidence to show that there was any such word in the Mauritanian language. The case was different with Cunobeline. His kingship was not given by Augustus; for he was king in his own right, and thence the probability that he used the word as a Celtic term, and not as a Roman one. It is shown in the *Coins of Cunobeline* that the word occurs on Gaulish types in the forms of REX, RIX, RIXS, REIX, and REICHS. Its known use, therefore, in that language becomes well established; and there appears good presumption, likewise, that REICHS was an ancient word in the Teutonic for king, as we have in modern German "reichthum," a kingdom. The word "konig" has, in modern times, superseded all other words in that language in the signification of king.

While speaking of the title of REX, I will here mention that Dr. Ingram has asserted, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1824, p. 320, that Constantine the Great assumed this said title and was styled REX, as testified by several of his coins. This should meet with a denial, as it is believed to be entirely a mistake. There is not, as far as can be ascertained, any instance of this word being inserted on his coins; but there is the legend of CONSTANTINOS BAΣ(IAEYΣ) on a coin of Constantine VI, a Greek emperor of the eighth century, which apparently occasioned the error (see Akerman's *Descriptive Catalogue of Roman Coins*, 8vo. 1834, vol. ii, p. 440).

As to the date of the coins of the southern Belgæ of Britain, they range from about B.C. 35 to A.D. 43. The

earliest of them appear to be those of Eppillus, whom there are reasons good and sound, but too long to enter upon here, to identify with the Carvillius of Cæsar's *Commentaries* (see the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 246-7). The Celtic inscriptions on the Britanno-Belgic coins are as follows:—"EPPILLUS, *rev.* COM(MIOS) F(IRBOLG)," *i. e.* "Eppillus (and) the community of the Belgæ." F. EPPI. COM. *i. e.* the same in import, the F. being transposed; Eppillus also occurs in a sole legend in the form EPPI, and in one specimen, as EP.

The legends on the coins inscribed TINC., I suspect, come next in date; they are chiefly found near Winchester: their fullest inscription is TIN. *rev.* COM. F.: another inscription is TIN. COM.; another, C. F.; *rev.*, TINC. (see the subsequent page, 48.) I do not know how to render the word "Tinc." in English; but the inscription added to it, implying the community of the Belgæ or Firbolgi, is plain enough. On the whole, the most probable surmise is, that TINC. stands for "Tincontium," the Celtic name, possibly, of Winchester, since "Venta Belgarum," as in *Antoninus*, seems only a conventional one, implying merely a provincial town. An incident, rather singular, connected with this legend, is, that a specimen of a coin of Marcus Agrippa was found at Seaford, some twenty years since, countermarked TIN. on the reverse. The countermark TIN. on it, is the very same word as on the coins we are now treating of, and is not at all like the countermarks on various Roman coins expressing "Tiberii Nepos," and the like; various of which legends were very kindly forwarded to me by the Marquis de Lagoy for comparison; nor was Marcus Agrippa, as far as I can find, either a grandson or a nephew of the Emperor Tiberius. The coin belongs to H. Syer Cuming, Esq. The inference I form is, that the magistracy of Tincontium, or Winchester, had impressed certain Roman moneys with their own distinctive countermark, of which Mr. Cuming's specimen is one.

I am inclined to assign, with some confidence, the inscriptions VIR and VIRI as the commencing letters of the name of a town, the full and complete form of which I conclude was "Viridunum," being, according to the best of my apprehension, a variation of the compound word "Gwiri-dunum," from the Celtic "gwiredd," justice; implying, in fact, the town, or "dunum," which was the usual seat of legislature. The legends are:—I. CO(MMIOS) F(IRBOLG). *rev.* VIRI(DUNUM)

REX.: in English, "The king and the confederacy of the Belgæ (struck at) Viri(dunum)." II. There are some types similar, except leaving out the word REX. And III. CO(MMIOS) VIR(IDUNUM). *rev.* EPPILLUS CO(MMIOS) F(IRBOLG). I would give the translation of the Celtic thus:—"The community or municipality of Viridunum, (and) EPPILLVS and the confederacy of the Firbolgi." Believing, then, as I do, that the seat of the dominions of Eppillus, the Gwayr-illil, or Carvillius of Cæsar, was Kent, I conclude that Viridunum, wherever situated, was the then capital of the kingdom of Kent at the period at which the coin was struck, which is best placed within the period from about B.C. 35 to B.C. 12, in which last-named year Marcus Agrippa died. It is likewise to be noticed that there was a Virodunum, the present Verdun, in Gaul, the etymology of which is to be accounted the same.

We now come to the coins of Bericus or Vericus, the Lælius Hamo, or Illil Amwn, of the *Chronicles*. He was a leader of the British Belgæ who joined the Romans, and, it seems, was elevated to the dignity of king by them. However, he was killed in the first year of the war, at the time of the invasion of Aulus Plautius, in the year 43. His coinage consequently is about sixty years subsequent to the coins of Eppillus, Tincontium and Viridunum, and yet the legend COM. F. still appears upon them. Here is a son of the Comius of Cæsar again, some one may possibly say: "Ah! but consider that the interval of time between these coins and that leader is nearly a century." "Oh, then, a grandson, perhaps!" This is the way in which some argue. But no! neither son nor grandson, but the community or confederacy of the Firbolgi or Belgæ is meant, of which Vericus was the leader. Another coin is VERIC COM(MIOS) F(IRBOLG); *rev.*, REX. Another, VERICA; *rev.*, COMMI(OS) F(IRBOLG). The reading here of this inscription is singular; for whereas I have had usually to join the name of Vericus with the community of the Belgæ by the conjunction "and" between brackets, here it appears to stand in the very Celtic itself, as VERIC A COMMI(OS) F(IRBOLG). *i. e.* "Veric and the confederacy of the Firbolgi," the particle A in Celtic having the signification of the conjunction "and." There are altogether two types, reading VERIC A COMMI(OS) F(IRBOLG), or parts of the legend, Mr. Drummond's and

Mr. Tupper's. I have a fine impression of this last; and there are no types I am more gratified with than those reading VERIC A; they afford a genuine proof of Celtic being used in these legends,—denied by some. Some have supposed his name was "Vericas;" a mistake not to be wondered at considering the careless way in which opinions are accustomed to be passed on British coins, and the still more reprehensible way in which numismatists, even of high reputation, are content to let them pass current; but that his name was in Latin Bericus, and in Greek Bericos, we know from Suetonius and Dion Cassius. Mr. Drummond's type, now I believe in the British Museum, is engraved in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 154; and there is a good engraving of that of Mr. Tupper's in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1850, p. 174. Mr. Drummond's type had only one portion of the legend, but a type in possession of Mr. Rolfe supplied exactly what was wanting. The said type is also engraved in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, at the page above referred to.

The importance of this legend, VERIC A COMMI(OS) F(IRBOLG), can scarcely be too much dilated upon, forming with that of TASC. FIR., and VREIS BOD TASCI., the true touchstone for interpreting ancient British coins. The question of our coinage, whether at London or Paris, must be decided by these legends. In fact, it is finally ended by them. The ancient British coinage is rescued from its dubious position by them, and now becomes a science well understood. I need scarcely specify that the understanding of the British coinage depends on the due receiving and interpreting these principal inscriptions, which I may say at once, and unreservedly, form no less than the keystones of the whole fabric.

However, though this be so, yet the main fact was well nigh authenticated by the contrary assertion being brought to a *reductio ad absurdum*. For instance, Tasciovanus was said to be a king, and the father of Cunobeline; which was feigned to be expressed by the form and style on coins, of CVNOBELINVS . TASC . F., which in reality is, "Cunobeline the tascio, or imperator, of the Firbolgi," *i.e.*, of the British Belgæ. Now the *reductio ad absurdum* consists in this, that if Tasciovanus be the personal name of one man, how can we have TASCIO SEGO., as in the Hunterian Collection (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, No. 10); TASCI RICON., in the same col-

lection (*Ibid.*, No. 4); CEARATIC TASCL F. (*Camden et alibi*); TASCIAV. on a coin of Dubnovellaunos, *i.e.*, Togodumnus, a son of Cunobeline, in the British Museum (*Ruding*, plate A, Supplement, 3rd edition, No. 84); and lastly the inscription, VREIS·ƀOD TASCI., of a coin of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, quite a different nation from that over which Cunobeline ruled. The coin is now in the British Museum; and one of the same types is engraved in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 209. Now if the above do not furnish an instance—and, indeed, several—of the *reductio ad absurdum*, even to a non-numismatist, I know not what may be considered to do so. But there is a *reductio ad absurdum* equally flagrant in supposing the word COMMIVS or COMMIOS not titular, but the name of one single individual person: for instance, we should have the same Commios father of three different kings in the south-east of Britain, and father of a king in the same localities, who lived about a century after him. The argument, then, on the case, both affirmatively and negatively, is satisfactory and conclusive; and our future Lingards and Lappenbergs, Macaulays, Thackerays, and Kemblęs, will be bound to use the materials here provided for them, if they mean to do justice to their subject.

It may, perhaps, be allowable to pronounce thus decidedly on the subject to one who, like myself, has had to sustain so much obloquy in the endeavour to illustrate historical and numismatic truth, and am thus called forth so pointedly to make my position good. The attacks, indeed, have been severe and unmerited, and the censures altogether misplaced. In answer, I can only cordially invite Mr. Birch and Mr. Evans to lay aside all prejudice, and to cooperate with me in illustrating the ancient coins of our native land. If they, at their first setting out, took erroneous views of these primæval British moneys, it was not my fault.

There are still some few inscriptions on ancient British coins to notice, besides those of the Southern Belgæ, such as QUANGETH, *i.e.* QUANGES, the Cangi; CATTI, the Catticuchlani; BODUOC, Victory, or "the victorious"; and COMUX, *i.e.*, COM(MIOS) UX(ACONI), or "the community of Uxaconium." Also, there are a few other inscriptions, as ATT and CORI; one supposed to refer to the Atrebates, and the other to the Iceni Coritani. Besides, there are the inscriptions on the types of the Brigantes, as DUMNOCOVEPOS, ASUP, TIGIION;

VOSI, VOSIMOS, etc., etc.; of which a detailed exposition can scarcely be supplied.

I have thus given a species of summary, or brief view, of the principal inscriptions of the Gaulish and British coinages; and I am informed by a letter from one of the most celebrated *literati* in France, that they are, at the present time, forming a collection of Celtic inscriptions in that country; but whether the same is to comprise those on coins, I know not. If so, it might be a curious point to see how far those I have given coincide. Of one thing I am pretty certain, from a study of the best French numismatic authors, that they cannot vary the explanations given, as above, of the said legends with advantage.

I now turn to make a passing remark on the British part of these monetary inscriptions. The sum of what I have to say is brief enough. You will find the inscribed coins of just those princes whose names are mentioned in classic authors,—namely, of Cunobeline, Adminius, Togodumnus, Prasutagus, and one or two others; but the coinage scarce goes further than that, except that you will meet with the coins of Bericus, and of the states which formed the kingdom of those people in Britain, whom Ptolemy, in his *Geography*, calls the Belgæ. You will also find the coins of a few detached states under the sway of Cunobeline and Prasutagus, as the Cangi and Cori(tani); and if to these you add certain rude coins attributed to the Brigantes, you will then have the whole inscribed British coinage. There remain besides, however, numerous coins not inscribed.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER V.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS AS OBJECTS OF ART; AND COMPARISON OF THEM, IN THAT PARTICULAR, WITH GAULISH COINS; AND REMARKS ON FABRICATIONS OF BRITISH TYPES IN THE PAST CENTURY AND THE PRESENT ONE, ETC.

I MAY soon dismiss what may be included under the first of these heads. Ancient British coins vary in their execution from the rudest representations conceivable,—that is to say, from those formed on the die by the common tools of the artizan, named countersinks, cold-chissels, and punches,—to types exhibiting the flowing outline, correct details, and superior workmanship, of the most elegant monetary productions of Greece and Rome.

There is a peculiarity in the coins of ancient Britain as well as in those of Gaul, namely, that the workmanship of the monetary types of the southern states is the best in point of execution, and that it deteriorates as you proceed northwards: thus, some of the finest specimens are found among the types of the Southern Belgæ; next, intermixed with the types of the monarch of the midland districts, that is, of Cunobeline; next, in due gradation of inferiority, come the coins of the Iceni; and lastly, those of the Brigantes, exhibiting their distorted *griffonnage*, and representations of countenances scarcely human.

This may be a general rule; but for an incidental remark it may be observed, that the coins of the Southern Belgæ are evidently divided into two distinct classes as to workmanship, namely, some of those inscribed TINC, VIR, and EPPILLVS, are extremely well wrought; whilst others, especially some similarly inscribed VIR or VIRI, are of a somewhat rough though free and bold execution. The finest coin in the British series was one in gold: weight, eighty-two

grains; obverse, a horseman poising a spear, and charging to the right; a star just above the horse's head, and underneath the horse the letters C. F.: reverse, blank, but with the inscription TINC on a tablet. This was found at Tichfield Hill, Hampshire; and an engraving of it is inserted in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 23. The horseman on the obverse is an obvious imitation of the horseman on some of the coins of Tarentum, and in particular has much resemblance with a coin of the Cossutia family, of the Tarentine type, inscribed COS. F. In this British type it is a most remarkable circumstance that the letters C. F. occupy the place of the above COS. F., being apparently not intended on the coin for the initials of the *Cossutia* family of Rome; but used ethnologically and familiarly to express the COMMIOS FIRBOLG, or the confederation of the Firbolgi or Belgæ of Britain. This fine specimen belonged to the late Mr. Hughes of Winchester, and was lost about 1850, having been, according to one account, purloined by a person unknown, who came to inspect his collection a few days before the sale; according to another account, lost by himself in carrying it about to shew to his friends, he being very infirm at the time. Mr. Akerman speaks highly of the good workmanship of one of the coins inscribed VIRI. (See his *Coins of Cities and Princes*, p. 186.)

In respect to the coins of Cunobeline, nine-tenths of them may be traced to be imitations of the coins of his friend Augustus, and many of those of his sons the same (see numerous types as given in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 28, 32, 35, 45, 151-3, *et alibi*). The majority of these are executed with freedom and delicacy; though the surfaces of such of them as are of bronze or silver, are usually much deteriorated from lapse of time; and the surfaces of the gold specimens in public and private collections are often found to have been scraped or burnished over by engraving-tools by former possessors. It is but rare that coins of his are met with of inferior execution, though coins of one or two of his towns may occasionally be so, as some of those of Verulam and those of Uriconium. As far as my judgment extends, the direct imitations of Greek types among the coins of Cunobeline are but very few; indeed, I scarcely know of one; though through the medium of Roman provincial types they may be frequently followed. The

type, however, in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, representing, as frequently supposed, a figure with a human head standing before an altar, may possibly be an exception (see it engraved in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, i, 44), being an evident imitation of a coin of Maronea in Thrace, but there the subject is Bacchus with a bunch of grapes. This, I need not say, does not affect the explanation of the type; as imitations are frequently only partial, and the representations of human heads are of actual occurrence on the coins of Dubnorex, the Æduan chief, on which a warrior is represented as carrying a standard in his right hand, and a human head in his left (see M. De la Saussaye's *Monnaies des Eduens*, 8vo., Paris, 1846, pp. 11-12, and pl. ii, fig. 6). A figure on a coin of Comana Ponti likewise bears a human head by the hair, in the left hand (see Taylor Combe's *Numismata*, pl. ix, 4); and a coin of Cabira Ponti has also the same representation.

The coins of the Iceni are usually executed in a very peculiar and somewhat *mediocre* style, with generally monograms and ligatures in the legends; and the letters of them otherwise unskilfully distributed. The plate at p. 102 of the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, will give a good idea of them; and there is not anywhere else so many of them engraved together. There are, however, two more classes of them: one somewhat superior in execution (*Ibid.*, p. 258); and a portion of their types have heads upon them, including those inscribed RVEIS, *i.e.*, VREIS, for PRASVTAGVS (see *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 209 and 284-5), though not so often met with. A third class is very barbarous indeed: see one of them engraved in the work above referred to, p. 209. It should be here noted that the reverses of Icenian coins frequently represent no other objects than two lunated shields placed back to back, and enclosed in a species of grotesque ornament with leaf-shaped knobs or excrescences; and the whole affixed, as may be surmised, to a bundle of rods, in imitation of the Roman *fasces*. (See the *plate* above referred to.) It has been suggested somewhat doubtfully, in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 260, that what have the appearance of being lunated shields are but a repetition of the two initial letters of the word "Iceni" placed back to back, IOCI, and so having that form. The fondness, indeed, of this people for ligatures and abbreviations on

their coins, is sufficient to authorize any conjectures founded on this basis.

The workmanship of the coins of the Brigantes has been before mentioned as extremely barbarous; and the interpretation of their inscriptions has been attempted in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 87-92, and 171-174; but as at the best they appear to be but names, local or titular; and as they are single and isolated, and unmentioned by ancient authorities, they do not afford the same materials for illustrating ancient Britain as the other coinages of the island. This I make as a passing remark, as otherwise this rude class might seem to have been neglected.

The workmanship of the coins of the Dumnonii is still to be noted. These are usually called the Karnbré types, from the great "find" procured at that place about a century since, and described by Borlase the historian of Cornwall. See seven specimens of them engraved in the plate in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 139. They are imitations, somewhat in the Gaulish style, of the staters of Macedonia; but with the heads of Belinus, or Apollo, upon many of them, usually more stiff, and less characteristic, than in Gaulish types. Two of the specimens, instead of a head on the obverse, have merely boughs of trees represented; and the workmanship of the whole of them, with some few exceptions, borders on the barbarous.

Having treated of British coins as connected with art, it may be necessary to advert to Gaulish ones in the same point of view; and, as before said, like those of Britain, there is a threefold division to be made of them. The coins of Massilia and the south of France, of course, take the pre-eminence; and these form the first class. The second class consists of the well-executed Celtic types which form the main body of the Gaulish coinage: well executed, as has just been said, but not on the principles of high art. The third class is composed of coins of distorted representations and coarse workmanship; and these, too, form a numerous assemblage, and are, I believe, almost invariably uninscribed. The distorted face on what was called the "Scutum Cymbricum," which appears to have become a national emblem—and which I may call the "Cymbric escutcheon"—was probably taken from some of these rude types which had reached Rome, and which, Quintillian informs us (*De Oratore*, vi, 3)

formed the signs of some taverns in the Forum, as also it did of a banking house near the Capitol, whose bankruptcy is come down to us as a matter of history. (Reinesius, *Ins.*, p. 342.)

Gaulish coins can generally, with due attention, be distinguished at first sight from those of Britain. The bronze is paler, the letters more slender, and the execution usually more regular. The style of the heads likewise, as those of the coins of Cricir and others, is different; and these, and some other discriminating characteristics, make a marked distinction between the two coinages.

To revert now to our British types. It will be very evident, from the tenor of some former remarks, that very great attention to the classics, to ancient geography, and to all known remnants of early British history, are requisites to obtain a correct knowledge of ancient British coins. But as well as this, much caution otherwise is required to be exercised; for a great and increasing evil has grown up of late years, as it were behind and out of sight, that is, the forgery of ancient British coins, which has taken a wide and extensive range, and which, as far as it goes, throws out research from its true course, and makes the results of it nugatory. Forgery of ancient coins is of two kinds: (1), the forging of an exact imitation, which is comparatively harmless; and (2), the forging of a type with a fraudulently varied inscription bearing on some disputed historical point, and thereby intended to make the imitation more valuable as an article for sale, and more cherished by its deluded possessor as a species of touchstone for deciding controversies. It is well known enough that, for the last twenty-five years, forging coins has been carried on as a trade; and information was obtained some years since, that a most skilful and highly-talented Italian workman was constantly retained by a party of unprincipled forgers for the purpose. What is to be done in this predicament? Is the study of ancient British coins to be relinquished, and considered as an impracticable thing to be persevered in,—to be viewed, in fact, as a lost science? No. I should say the field should not be so easily abandoned to the producers of fraudulent imitations; but a due effort should still be made for the preservation of the science.

The numismatist, aware of the difficulties which he has to surmount, must apply himself to detect forgery, as a most essential and indispensable part of his labours. Practice

tends to make perfect in this as well as in other things, and the eye and the mind both gradually acquire the power of discrimination. At any rate, whether successful or unsuccessful, this appears to be the only means to be recommended.

As to the types hitherto most falsified. The coins of Verulam, and those of the Brigantes, are the most frequent forgeries,—probably because their very singular types supply a striking model for imitation; but the forgery of disputed legends seems progressing.

Ancient forgeries of British coins of the last century have been treated of in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons* (Addenda, pp. 13, 14). The principal endeavour at that time was to produce coins of Boadicea, Caractacus, and Arviragus; the first of which was forged from a Gaulish coin (see *Lambert*, pl. viii, 20), on one side of which was delineated the head of Apollo *Musagetes;* and on the reverse, a horse with a scroll over it, which said scroll was altered by an engraving tool to the word BOADI. The coins of Caractacus were fabricated from Gaulish coins of Commios Carmanos. Two types were manufactured in this way, one exhibiting the legend CARETIC, after the coin engraved by Camden and Speed; the other reading CARATACVS, after the form of the name given by Zonaras in his *History*. Two types for Arviragus, with the legend ARVI., were manufactured from coins of Philip II of Macedonia; one from a gold coin, the other from a silver one. Besides these instances, there was a forgery of a somewhat more notable character, which may possibly require separate mention, as the identification of a very important class of British types depends upon it. See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 78, and Addenda, p. 14, from which the account, as here given, is partially extracted.

The coin in question had originally belonged to Mr. John White of Newgate-street, and afterwards had formed part of Colonel Durrant's collection, and was engraved, as far back as the year 1766, in Dr. Pegge's *Coins of Cunobeline*. The coin, before alteration, was a tolerably good specimen of one of the now well-known types of Dubnovellaunos. (See it engraved in the *Coins of Cunobeline*, pl. I, p. 78, fig. 4, and in the *Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pl. II, fig. 6.) The representations on the coin were thus: obverse, a horse galloping, to the right; above it a bull's head, and a double

circle nearly touching the horse's head; also there is a single circle below, to the left. There are several dots about the coin, it should be added, indicating beaded ornaments usually affixed to the horns of animals when sacrificed. (See Du Choul's *Religion des Anciens Romains*, etc., pp. 301 and 318.) There was an inscription on the coin, as will be mentioned immediately. The reverse was blank, except two parallel ridges or bars across it; and the whole weight of this piece of money, which is of gold, is eighty-two grains.

Now as to how the forgery was effected. The whole inscription had been originally DVBNOVELLAVNOS, which commencing from the lower part of the coin, left the concluding letters inverted above the horse: however, the only part of the legend really extant was that which comprised the four concluding letters, VNOS; which being inverted, as before said, stood thus arranged with the double circle before noted, SONAO, the double circle being here represented by the final *o*. The forger then operated thus. The *s* was removed entirely, as also the inner circle of the double circle; and so much also of the outer circle as to make an opening, and to leave the perfect representation of a *c;* so that at last, by these contrivances, the reading CVNO, inverted, but not retrograde, was produced: and thus, indeed, an unique reading was formed, one that made the name of Cunobeline to stand on the coin of his son Dubnovellaunos, who is the same person as the Togodumnus of Dion Cassius. Had not this forgery been detected, all classification would have become impossible to every inquirer on the subject of British coins, who could thus have not been able to have sufficiently distinguished the coins of Cunobeline from those of his sons; which consideration has made it necessary to be somewhat in detail on the subject. The forgery was discovered by myself, the coins having been subjected to a good magnifying glass, when the alterations made by the engraving tool of the forger having, by lapse of time, become visible by the different oxidations of the old and new surfaces, the imposture became manifest.

The coin had been left with Mr. C. Roach Smith at the time I made the discovery, it having been exhibited to the Numismatic and British Archæological Societies as a very unusual variety of the types of Cunobeline. He was at first very unwilling to believe the fact of alteration; but at last

did so, and inserted an account of the transformation of this type in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, of which he was secretary (in p. 121 of the volume for 1847), detailing it very much as above, and almost in the exact words in which I had pointed it out to him; adding at the same time, at the end: "The inscription, CVNO, reading upside down, was thus obtained, and a common type converted into an unique one. The fraud escaped the eye of some of the most experienced London collectors." The onerous and pressing labours of the editorship of the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, which at that time devolved on Mr. C. Roach Smith, might have prevented a more explicit account of this numismatic discovery. I have therefore thought it but due to myself to specify the share which I had in it.

To revert to White's coins. There is thus one known and recognized fountain head, from which dubious types have been poured into modern collections, both public and private. Mr. White is very highly spoken of by his contemporaries; and it is not improbable that he may have been the dupe of some artful person. His cabinet contained types of two descriptions: some authentic and valuable, others gross forgeries, along with a certain quantity apparently of a dubious description. It was thus of a mixed character; and when it was dispersed by sale, it became absorbed into other collections,—certainly very much to their detriment as far as the forged portion of it was concerned. Mr. White also published a plate of ancient British coins, viz., thirteen gold, fifteen silver, and fourteen copper ones,—in all, forty-two. Some few of them (*i.e.*, ten at the least) are now known to be Gaulish,—that is, five of those in gold, two in silver, and three in bronze,—not to speak of forgeries. The plate is executed in a heavy, unartistic mode of engraving, very similar indeed to the style which silversmiths are accustomed to adopt in their representations of coats of arms, and in their chasings and other ornamentations (both in relievo and incuse), of various articles which they manufacture for sale. Specimens of obviously forged British coins, in the same workmanship, are frequently to be met with in London. This plate of White's is now become very rare; but a copy is bound up with the volume, in the British Museum, of the Pembroke Collection, which is entitled *Herbert's Numismata*,

and is inserted at p. 94,—which may be useful to mention should the plate be required for reference or comparison. These coins may be viewed as a part only of his collection; and further, on the subject of Mr. White and his coins, see Dr. Pegge's *Coins of Cunobeline*, plates I and II, and classes II, IV, and V, and pp. 108-112. The pretended unique type of Cunobeline above described, that of Boadicea, and the two of Arviragus, are traced to White's collection; but that inscribed TOGV, and the assumed ones of Caractacus, as in Stukely's plate XI, 2, and that of XII, 2 and 4, are at present not so.

I am of opinion that electrotyping is not used in modern fraudulent fabrications,—which process is commonly not allowed by the owners of collections; and, besides, requires possession of the coin. The method is more probably this: that from sealing-wax impressions a mould is formed, in which the imitation is cast *en bloc*,—that is, in a thick and clumsy form,—which again is worked down with engraving tools, as is done in sculpturing a cameo, and finished up from a plaster-cast in relievo, taken from the above-named wax impressions. Thus a fac-simile of a genuine coin would be produced; and this process admits the lettering of the type being altered according to the controversies of the day, so as to become a supposed numismatic proof. Singularly enough, the new appearance of a fabricated coin does not seem always to excite suspicion: however, a pamphlet lately published at Marseilles acquaints us that the green patina can be added, if wished, to bronze coins.

It will, of course, make a forged coin more valuable if it has a bearing on points which are controverted by some portion of the *corps numismatique*. Forgery, then, is a thing which, as to all that concerns ancient British coins, to use a homely phrase, should be well looked out for. It is the sunken rock in the channel, the sand-bank in the ocean, the leak in the ship,—all of which tend to make the numismatic navigation unprosperous. Well aware of this, every care has been taken in this work that the Celtic inscriptions should be solely collected from genuine coins. I can personally vouch for the genuineness of many of the types, from my acquaintance with ancient British coins for many years; and as to the remainder, they being taken from the most authentic available sources, and I having seen by far the

greater number of them myself, and examined them carefully, I can nearly equally vouch for them too. Next to impossible it is to meet forgery in all its forms; but I think it may be said that all attainable verification of the types in the present pages has been secured. Many of them are from Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, who may safely be pronounced to have been on his guard against all forgers; for he gives not a single one of White's coins, many of which are so equivocal; nor a single coin from Stukeley,—not that it is meant to be implied that the latter was a forger: far from it,—he was much too honourable a man for that,—but he certainly was too credulous, both in numismatics and other things. Besides, there is scarcely a type from which the inscriptions are taken, in the present publication, that is not supported by similar types; and the legends are usually corroborated by corresponding ones on other cognate types.

When a new type of a coin, or a supposed new-found valuable coin, makes its appearance in this country, the law of "treasure-trove" is often quoted as a reason why a veil of mystery is thrown over the whole transaction of its discovery; and that both the place of finding, and the names of the discoverers, are not divulged. This is a state of things which is, of course, extremely favourable to the introduction of forged coins, and is to be the less regarded as a reason for this close concealment being observed; for the law of "treasure-trove" is very rarely exercised, except the objects discovered be of some considerable amount. I scarcely recollect an instance in which lords paramount, or simply lords of manors, have exercised this right against proprietors in their jurisdictions; and very seldom have I known a case where proprietors have claimed against their tenants, or tenants against their labourers. In both these last instances a compensation, or acquiescence between the parties, is usually agreed upon and arranged without difficulty. This plea then should be for the most part disregarded; and for a new type of an alleged British coin to be used in evidence in any question relating to ancient British numismatics,—(1), satisfactory proof should be given of the circumstances of its finding; and (2), the coin itself should be submitted to a very severe numismatic scrutiny.

In regard to Gaulish coins. As far as my knowledge extends, they are freer from forgery than those of ancient

Britain. M. Duchalais, however, in his *Additional Notes* (p. 429), quoting Havercamp's *Thesaurus Morellianus* (p. 572), is inclined to think that the well-known type reading GERMANVS INDVTILLIL is forged. This coin is very frequently applied to Indutiomar (see *Lelewel*, p. 247); and being found plentifully in the south-east of France, and according to a late volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, in Spain, the presumption is certainly in favour of its genuineness.

I should thus place this coin among those that are authentic; but regarding the interpretation of it, I should consider, if conjectures be allowable, that it does not apply to Indutiomar, but to some other person named Germanus, who was not a Celt nor a German, but a Roman of that name, who was advanced to dignity in Gaul, like Q(VINTVS) DOCI(VS) SAMI(VS), whose coins are noticed by Duchalais and Lelewel; and there were no doubt others in the same position. Germanus appears to have added to his name—ostensibly to ingratiate himself with the Gauls, the Celtic appellation INDVTILLIL (qu. ENG-DVT-ILLIL ?), which expresses in an inflated titular form "The awe-inspiring, divine king." Nevertheless, regarding the two terms *Indutiomar* and *Indutillil*, I view the titles to be of the same import and value, though the persons may have been different. As to another point. The coin being an imitation of those of the *Familia Lepida*, there is reason to suppose that Germanus was a partizan of Lepidus, and that the coin was struck either shortly before, or during the triumvirate of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, which continued from B.C. 43 to B.C. 36. Lepidus was the governor of provinces both in Gaul and Spain.

A few Celtic inscriptions of Gaulish coins have been omitted, as not being fully substantiated, though there is no doubt of the genuineness of the coins; but legends are not always capable of being correctly read. And the same has been done with some inscriptions on ancient British coins, and by far the major part of Pannonian legends, from the same causes. The difficulty of reading many of the inscriptions on Celtic coins is excessive, and not easily to be conceived, except by those who have had occasion to be so employed. The letters are generally but slightly raised above the surface of the coin: indeed, so little so, that flakes of oxide, or even discolorations of the metal, frequently prove very deceptive. Roman and Greek coins will hardly

convey an idea of the decayed state in which many ancient British coins are often found; especially bronze types, to which these observations are intended more particularly to apply, those of gold being commonly better preserved. The peculiar method in which the legend was produced, being generally not engraved, but struck piecemeal, and letter by letter, by a punch on the die, occasions the numerous inversions of letters and their transpositions, and is the cause of the retrograde arrangement common to moneys of this class. This practically gives rise to but little difficulty; but the indistinctness of the letters, and many of them being perhaps wanting, often originates a considerable dilemma. After all, it is the inscriptions being in Celtic, and perhaps connected with points wholly unexpected, which makes the principal difficulty, and causes a legend to be left unexplained till some collateral illustration is procured from some quarter or other, which throws an unexpected light upon it.

If it be asked how certain inscriptions on British coins are able to be decyphered with accuracy, when perhaps only a few letters are expressed upon them,—and, indeed, sometimes only the initials,—the answer is, that analogy enables this to be done. For instance, take the coin, given on the authority of Gale, inscribed IC.DVRO.T. (See his *Itinerary of Antoninus*, p. 109.) To begin with generalities. He mentions that a number of them were found together at Caistor in Norfolk, therefore the presumption is that they are coins of the Iceni. Ic. then would stand for Iceni; but most probably is misread for Ec., the I. being often so mistaken for the E. DVRO is the British word for "water" plainly enough. T. is for "triges," *i.e.*, from the British "trigo," to dwell; and thus we have, I(CENI) or E(CENI) DVRO-T(RIGES), or the "Iceni the water-dwellers"; which is tantamount to the term "Iceni Coritani" (Coritavi in Ptolemy's *Geography*), which implies "marsh or lowland inhabitants." We have, indeed, also the very word "Durotriges" in *Ptolemy;* but there it is applied to the inhabitants of Dorsetshire, who dwelt among waters, in a different way, that is, near the sea. We have, then, the above data. Then again as to the predominant custom in the coinage of the Iceni, we have by far most frequently the names of the inhabitants of the province inserted, than in other ancient British coinages. At one time it is the ECEN(I), and at another time IVGANTES, and

again, QVANGES, CORI(TANI), or these same DVRO(TRIGES). Therefore, the name of the people, ECENI DVROTRIGES, was to be expected on this coin; and as there is no other feasible explanation, it seems required, to acquiesce in the reading thus given.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE INSCRIPTION ON CUNOBELINE'S COINS, OF "TASCIO FIRBOLG," CLEARED OF ITS DIFFICULTIES.

WE were obliged, in the last chapter, to interpret T. for TRIGES; and I think it has been done with success. In the like manner we are necessitated to read, in the present legend, F. for *firbolg*, and not as *filius;* the reasons for which have been already given in part; but the subject being of importance, a species of recapitulation may be considered necessary, as well as a general summary of the state of the case, that researchers on the matter of the ancient British coinage may know what they have to think on this topic, and what they have to depend upon.

Respecting, then, the occurrence of the word F(IRBOLG) on ancient British coins. Would any one expect to see the legend, TASCIIO BELGARVM, or REX BELGARVM, inserted on one of them? If so, that particular specimen might at once be pronounced of a spurious description. No. Bolg, Builc, Buoilg, or Buoilgh, are the only terms for the Belgæ in any of the dialects in the Celtic family of languages. FIR, implying men, or rather soldiers, is merely the usual Celtic form of an adjunct to express the "men of the Belgæ"; somewhat of the same nature, and in much the same way, as when the expression is used, of the "British forces," the "French forces," etc., etc. So the word seems to come in very naturally, and we have FIRBOLG instead of the simpler form of BOLG. In a non-military sense it was used for tenants or bondsmen,—say "borderers," as in the Gyrvii of Bede. (See his *Ecclesiastical History*, iii, 20, *et alibi.*) Gwr, Gyrvii, and Fir, are essentially the same word. We have only, however, to do with it here in a military and national sense.

The Firbolgi then were divided into four different branches

in Britain and its islands: (1), the Southern Belgæ, or Firbolgi, who held all south of the Thames, and abutted west on the Dumnonii, that is, on Somersetshire and Devonshire; (2), the Midland Belgæ, who constituted Cunobeline's territory, and held all north of the Thames and south of the counties of Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, etc.; while (3), north of the Midland Belgæ, and south of the Dee and Humber, the Northern Belgæ, called Coranians, composed of the Iceni, the Iceni-Coritani, the Cangi, and the Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, held a considerable territory quite across the island; (4), again, besides these, there was a fourth branch, which passed over to Ireland, and held numerous possessions there during fifty-six years, and a dynasty of eight kings, till they were driven out, and were obliged to return to some part of Britain (*i.e.*, to Caledonia as is implied), capturing the Isle of Man in their way, as also the islands of Arran, Islay, and Rathlin. (See *Keating* and other authorities, and the Dublin edition of *Nennius*.) I particularly refer to this Irish copy of the work to illustrate our Firbolgian race, as at p. 48 the passage occurs: "Fir bolg imorro ro gabsat Manaind," etc. In English: "The Firbolgi, moreover, captured the Island of Man," etc.,—that is, on their retreat from Ireland; for which compare *Keating* and other authorities.

Having the above passage, and the capture of the three islands being subjoined, two of which, Arran and Islay, were so closely in connexion with the main water-communication from Ireland to Scotland, the origin of the Northern Britons, viz., those of Strathclyde, Eiddin, Rheged, Argoed, etc., is no longer doubtful,—nay, we may almost say, is definitely confirmed; though the circumstance, I believe, has not hitherto been noticed by our historians. However, I myself am least of all entitled to find fault, having in my own case omitted it in my *Britannia Antiqua*, where it ought to have been introduced and noticed. I should not forget, in alluding now to the subject, to remind the reader that it may be inferred from the poems of Aneurin, Lowarch-hen, and Merddyn Wyllt, that the language of the Strathclyde Britons was not the Highland Gaelic, but a dialect closely allied to the Cymraeg.

We make, then, an historical advance in applying these illustrations from the ancient annals of Ireland and Britain;

but there is still another point to be accounted for. It may be inquired,—how do we know that the population over which Cunobeline reigned was of Belgic origin? In answer we may refer to *Cæsar* and to the Cambrian historical *Triads*, on this topic. The former authority acquaints us that the parts next Gallia Belgica were peopled thence, and that the names of the tribes and states were mainly the same as those on the other side of the water. Thus we find the Cenimagni, Cassii, Belgæ, and Attrebates, were names adopted which were nearly precisely similar in both countries; and very numerous names of towns. The *Triads*, Nos. V, VI, VII, inform us of the two earlier inroads of these people; *i.e.*, that of the Midland Belgæ, about two hundred and sixty years before Christ; and that of the Coranians about one hundred and twelve; while Cæsar narrates the third (*Gaulish Wars*, ii, 4), which we may infer took place about eighty-five years before Christ. The evidence, then, considering the remote times, may be viewed as rather satisfactory than otherwise on the subject of the Belgæ in Britain.

Cunobeline could then well take the title on his moneys, of "Imperator of the Firbolgi"; and if there still remain any doubt, remember that the first syllable of the word, the FIR, is of actual occurrence on two of his coins, which I have duly ascertained,—as, indeed, was required before making it the basis of my explanations; and I wish to be understood as speaking definitely and decidedly on this point,—that is, of the clear proof of the actual reality and authenticity of this reading of the legend, FIR, on coins: to which all modern numismatists are now bound. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 175-185 *et alibi.*)

I may, in this place, add the remark, that it was only natural that Cunobeline should mention the name of his nation on his moneys, seeing that the Iceni, as has been before specified, so freely enumerated the names of the several states of their confederacy on their coins, as those of the Durotriges, Coritani, and others; and there being no other name of his nation and race which we can so appropriately assign to him as that of the FIRBOLGI. It was only natural, again, that the Southern Belgæ of Britain should have expressed likewise the same name on their coins, as they have done in the inscriptions COM.F., COMMI.F., etc., which imply the "Confederacy of the Belgæ;" for they claimed to be Belgæ

or Firbolgi, too; and their claim cannot be denied, as they can, indeed, be much more readily proved to have been really and truly Firbolgi than even those of midland Britain; and we have only to go to Cæsar's *Commentaries* for that point.

Before leaving this subject it may be advisable—nay, even required—to cite some literary authorities on the special point at issue, *i.e.*, whether the words "Bolg" and "Firbolg" are duly and truly those which should express the term "the Belgæ" on coins and otherwise.

Mr. O'Connor, editor of the *Chronicles of Eri* (2 vols., 8vo., 1822), may first be mentioned. Speaking of the Belgæ, he says (vol. i, p. 137) that their career of conquest in Britain—that is, we should add, in that part of Britain to which he refers, *i.e.*, *Britannia Prima*—was effectually checked by the Dumnonii. At the same time (pp. 99, 136, and 324) he describes the Gael, who were at that period inhabitants of Dumnonia, as constrained by Phœnician traders frequenting the same regions, to work in the mines; when it might rather be supposed, from the fact before alluded to, that the same were their Belgic prisoners. However, the authority of the *Chronicles of Eri* is almost too slight to be quoted in these inquiries, as the work so called appears, as far as can be understood, to be no more than a Celtic romance, the idea of which has been suggested by the ancient Irish chronicles; and which, indeed, has been in some small part compiled from a bold perversion of the earlier part of Scripture history.

We have something more reliable in Dr. Charles O'Conor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* (4 vols., 4to., 1814, 1815, 1824, and 1826.) Vol. i, *Prolegomena*, p. 60, he notes that the Belgæ had driven away a former race of possessors from Ireland. Vol. ii, p. 29, we have the term "Muiz-Bolg" occurring in the *Annals of Tigernach*, translated by Dr. O'Conor as the "Plain of the Belgæ." *Ibid.*, p. 160, the term occurs, connected with the date of the year of the Christian æra, 598, "Cath Duin Bolce," translated "the battle at the fortification of the Belgæ; and the same expressions occur again in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, printed in Dr. O'Conor's work. In vol. iii, p. 6, in the said *Annals of the Four Masters*, the passage occurs: "The Firbolgi, *i.e.*, the Belgæ, become possessed of Ireland at the end of the year of the world 3266," *i.e.*, B.C. 738; which by the way,

however, may be judged to be five or six centuries too early. P. 10, he mentions the Firbolgi, *i.e.* Belgæ: P. 20, the Firbolgi: P. 29, five battles against the Picts and Firbolgi in the year of the world 3790, or B.C. 214; which, again, much corroborates the former correction, as the Belgic domination in Ireland only lasted fifty-six, or otherwise eighty, years. P. 64, in his *Notes on the Four Masters*, he has the passage: "The Damnonii from the north of Britain (qu., the south?); the nation of the Belgæ being overcome in the battle of Moy-Turensis, planted the fourth colony of foreigners in Ireland." The above passages, among others, may be noticed in this learned work; and it is specially observable that Dr. O'Conor always refers to the Firbolgi, in his *Index*, under the word Belgæ.

O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*,—a work professed to be founded on ancient Irish chronicles, and on Gildas Coeman's poem of *Analaigh*,—says, p. 14, that (Hibernia) was divided into three nations, Firbolg, Fir Domnan, and Fir Galion; which was the same as saying the men, or nation, Bolus (so), *i.e.*, Bolg; the nation Domnan, and the nation Galion. "Bolus," he says, manifestly denotes the Belgæ of Britain, etc. Again he says (p. 73) the Belgæ (Firbolg in the margin) came as a third colony into Ireland from the southern part of Great Britain. Their sway, he notifies, continued for eighty years, and during the dynasty of nine kings.

Keating, in his *History of Ireland*, similarly agrees, p. 14, that (the term), "the nation of the Firbolg," means the Belgæ of Britain, who coming originally from Belgium, or the lower part of Germany, inhabited Somersetshire and part of Hampshire (so); and who, using the British language in Ireland, were said to speak '*Belgaid*,'—for the Belgic language was so called, as appears in the *Book of Lecan*, p. 283." Keating further says (p. 40) that the Firbolgi were routed under their king Eodchaidh, at the battle of Muigh Tuirriodh, by Nuadha Airgiodlamh, king of the Tuatha de Danaen, when ten thousand, or, according to other accounts, one hundred thousand, of them were slain. The Firbolgi, he adds, after sustaining this defeat, and being thereby expelled out of Ireland, retired to the islands Arran, Eilie (Islay), Rachnion, (Rathlin), Inis Gall, and other places. Keating considers their dynasty in Ireland to have lasted no longer than fifty-six years, not eighty.

O'Brien in his *Dictionary* (8vo., 1832), in speaking of the word "Bolg", says,—"that the Irish knew by the name of Firbolg, the ancient Belgic colony which came to their island, from Britain", and he explains at the same place, that the word meant "the men of the Bolgæ or Bolgi", or as he should have said "of the Belgæ".

The late Hon. Algernon Herbert, in several notes added to the *Dublin edition of Nennius*, admits unreservedly, pp. x, 49, and xcix, the identity of the Firbolgi in Ireland with the Belgæ of Britain.

If we revert from Irish literature to our usual sources, we shall find from the Latin copies of Nennius, preserved in our English libraries, that they agree in the tenor of their accounts with the Dublin edition, as to the mention of the Isle of Man: but are not so precise; as they do not recite the word "Firbolg"; but specify instead the term "Builc", *i. e.*, Belgæ; which is equally to our purpose, as it shows that the terms Firbolg, Belgæ, and Firbolgi, are no other than the same word.

Much conjecture has been hazarded respecting the earlier races which inhabited Ireland; but they appear to be capable of being thus easily discriminated. The first historical race, the Nemetæ, from whatever quarter they may have reached the Irish shores, bore a name which indicated a religious distinction, rather than an ethnological one. The name "Nemetæ", from the widely distributed Celtic word "nemet", meaning a temple, can only be interpreted to imply "Temple-votaries", in contradistinction to a former race who were not worshippers in temples. These were conquered by the Fomorians, that is by those who came from beyond the sea; as the name *Fuir o moir*, *i. e.*, "Men of the Sea" implies. These tribes appear to have been both of them Celtic, and being such, there is little doubt but that they came from Britain. The Nemetæ, though unable to prevent the settlement of the Fomorians, still preserved their national existence. The invasion of the Belgæ or Firbolgi, which has been already particularly treated of, came next, and bore hard on the two races already occupying the island; and these were a race of Celts with the Teutonic element strongly infused among them. They, as we are informed, indeed conquered the Fomorians, but had apparently much difficulty in maintaining their position against these. their

new subjects, and the still prior occupants of the island the Nemetæ, as they were obliged to summon their former opponents in Britain, the Dumnonii, to their assistance; and these not sufficing, they allied themselves to the Fir Galeoin, —that is, to the Gael or Gaedil of Ireland, so called. This, I admit, is a plainer and more direct statement than can be found in the *Annals of Tigernach*, or those of the *Four Masters*, or in the Celtic Romance called the *Chronicles of Eri*; but it still appears to be implied; as we find the Firbolgi in Ireland are distinctly stated to be divided into three divisions: that is, the Firbolgi proper, the Fir-Domnan, and the Fir-Galeoin. The ultimate fate of the Firbolgi in Ireland, notwithstanding their alliances,—*i.e.*, their entire expulsion,—has been before related; and their conquerors were no other than the old Nemetæ or Temple votaries coming forward again (*Irish Nennius*, c. viii), who now had acquired a new distinctive name, and were called "Tuatha de Danann", *i.e.*, the People of the gods of Danann. They received this designation from a female named Danann, the daughter of Dalbaoith, who traced her genealogy up in thirteen generations, to Nemed, the mythological head of their race, and who had three sons famous for their sorceries, whose appellations were, Brian, Tuchar, and Tucharba.

I submit the above pages as a species of summary of the literary evidence of our subject, which others, perhaps, may considerably dilate, and put into a still more cogent shape. I however, rely much upon it, drawn up as it is in its present form, to have due weight with every unprejudiced and reflective person. Still I am aware an objector may say, "You propose a prefix for your word 'Bolg', and you submit it to us, not in the form of *gwr* for men, which is of some considerable antiquity, as entering into the composition of the term *Girvii* used by *Bede;* but you supply it in the guise and shape of *fir*, *i.e.*, 'Firbolg' for 'Gwrbolg', as it would be according to the present Cymraeg language".

My answer is this. Our earliest British literary compositions only go back to a little later than the middle of the sixth century, say to about 565, while the inscriptions on ancient British coins are six centuries earlier. Add to this, our oldest manuscripts, with possibly some rare exceptions, merely range from about the year 1200 to 1400, so that there is a wide interval at any rate in point of date, between the

orthography of the inscriptions of British coins, and that which they supply. Now, the early disappearance of the F in the beginnings of various words in which the letter was followed by a liquid or a vowel, appears to have been a feature in two or three Celtic dialects of the nations in these parts, as those of Britannia, Cambria, and Dumnonia, which were subjugated to the ancient Roman empire, and who, possibly from deference to Roman custom, discontinued extensively the F, and used the V instead. For instance, the F as an initial for many words, is still retained in Ireland and Scotland, though it long since, and even of early times, pretty much disappeared among the Britons, as the most ancient specimens of their language testify. Initial Fs scarcely show themselves in the Cymraeg poem of the Gododin of the sixth century, though we have no reason to doubt but that they were much in use at that period in Ireland, and among Celts, out of Roman influence.

My assertion, therefore, is that from the above cause, the use of the word FIR, for "men," ceased at an early period in South Britain, and that the Roman form VIR and VIRI took its place; which from being pronounced rather broadly, as we must needs suppose, came to be current, both in speaking and writing, as the *gwr* of the present day.

The long and the short of the matter is, to use a colloquial phrase, that we have an ancient term "Firbolg" on our early British types in a Gaelic, instead of as some might have expected, in a Cymraeg or Welsh form. But should we really be surprised at this? I think not; as it has been pronounced as far back as the time of Edward Lhuyd, the learned author of the *Archæologia Britannica*, that the majority of local names about the kingdom of British derivation, are in the Gaelic dialect; we therefore might be led to expect that personal names would be so likewise; and that British etymologies derive illustration from Ireland should not surprise us, as both nations are connected by a Celtic origin.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PROOFS THAT THE ANCIENT SOUTHERN BELGÆ OF BRITAIN FORMED A REPUBLIC.

BEING now arrived at some of the most important inquiries intended by these pages, the reader is requested to remember that the new points of history now opened, though based principally as to their actual proof on the authority of coins, yet that they are supported collaterally by Julius Cæsar, Dion Cassius, Tacitus, and Suetonius.

Some may make the inquiry, How do we know, after all, that the Southern Belgæ or Firbolgi of Britain formed a republic? The question is certainly important, as it is much connected with the due understanding of the Celtic inscriptions of ancient British coins. Indeed, unless this fact be substantiated, a great portion of them remains perfectly incomprehensible. Investigation then, under these circumstances, is indispensable.

Here it becomes necessary to remark, that this point has not hitherto been shown by Camden, Baxter, Lingard, Lappenberg, Sharon Turner, Wright, or Kemble. All I feel entitled to require is, that if I am able to prove this historical position, the utility of doing so may not be denied.

I must then first specify that a republic, in this case, is only to be taken in the sense of a continued confederacy of various separate and somewhat minor powers, the same as exists in Switzerland, in which country certain allied states have formed for many centuries the Helvetic Confederacy or Republic. The title of king, it is true, was used in these South Eastern Belgic States in Britain; yet it was not then used as necessarily an opposite term to a democracy, since the title much prevailed among the republicans of Gaul. Indeed, even now, from the great extension of democratic feeling in modern times, the title, king, is not become quite

incompatible with a republic: as I have before alluded, at p. 6, to the circumstance that Lamartine, in the year 1830, in presenting Louis Philippe to the people, styled him a republican king. However, I must now proceed to refer for authority to Cæsar's *Commentaries*.

Cæsar, at the time of his second invasion, fifty-four years before the Christian era, informs us, that what were called "the Maritime States" of the Belgæ, and which we know comprised six of the national states in Britain, that is, the Cantii, the Regni, the Atrebates, the Segontiaci, the Durotriges, and the Belgæ Proper, were at war with Cassivelaunus, the leading monarch of South Britain (*Gaulish Wars*, v. ii). He was great and powerful, and, as far as that period was concerned, we know that there *was* a confederacy; for the words of Cæsar imply so, from his saying generally that Cassivelaunus was at war with the Maritime States—that is with them all; and the relative circumstances of the two powers were such as made a species of Helvetic alliance an indispensable matter of policy for the British Belgian states to adopt; their inferiority in relative strength could only thus be compensated, and must have necessitated the step.

To show this, I will just refer to their respective territories as on the map of the island. The dominions, as afterwards held by Cunobeline, and which appear to have been the same as possessed at this period by Cassivelaunus, as has been before remarked, comprised the following English and Welsh counties; viz., Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Glamorganshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire. In all eighteen of the present counties: while the Southern Belgæ or Firbolgi only possessed seven and a half, which may be thus enumerated: Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and the half part of Somersetshire to the river Parret.

The proper family dominions of Cassivelaunus, extended along the Thames, as Cæsar, in the passage before cited, says they did, having that river for their southern boundary for a length of one hundred and forty miles. The Belgæ were in length from east to west about one hundred and eighty-six

miles; but, nevertheless, as their breadth was less, and as at this time the Dumnonii and Silures are to be considered as being the tributaries of the British monarch, his force was in the proportion as three to one to that of the Belgæ.

Perhaps some one may say, "O, this alliance might only have continued for a short time!" In answer, however, it can be shown to have continued forty years; for as it is first mentioned fifty-five years before Christ, so Cunobeline, who came to the throne B.C. 15, has a coin inscribed with his name on the obverse, and with CVN, supposed for "Cunetio," a principal city of the Belgæ proper, the modern Marlborough, on the reverse: and he has likewise two other coins, one inscribed SEGO or Segontium, *i.e.*, Silchester, believed to be a city of the Segontiaci, one of the Belgic states; the other type inscribed, with some variation, SOLIDV and SOLIDO, applying pretty clearly to the Britanno-Belgic city Aquæ Solis, otherwise Solidunum, or Bath: where the goddess Suli-Minerva was worshipped, according to an inscription found there. Viewing these three places as having belonged to the Belgæ, the coins must be taken and understood as struck in commemoration of the capture of these three important towns. If this be so, and there appears no reason to doubt it, the confederacy which could alone, on the part of the Southern Belgæ, have formed the sinews of the war, must have continued to exist down to that time, that is, to the said year B.C. 15. Coins which have given us this information will not tell us all their vicissitudes; but soon after Cunobeline's death, about the year of the Christian æra 41, we find that by that time the Belgian Confederacy had not only been subdued by Cunobeline, but had subsequently rebelled, and its chief, Vericus, together with the late king's (eldest?) son, Adminius, had fled over to the Roman armies on the opposite continent. This we gather from the *History* of Dion Cassius, book lx; and from Suetonius, *Claudius*, c. 17; and *Caligula*, c. 44 and c. 47.

Further, when the Roman invasion did take place under Aulus Plautius in the year 43, we find from the ancient *British Chronicles* that Vericus returned to Britain, under the name of Lælius Hamo, that is, the "Illil" or king Amwn, which we may understand was his personal name; and that he acted as a Roman partizan in command of a body of

British auxiliaries, and fought sharply against his countrymen, till he was killed towards the end of the first year of the war. One thing we are certain of, that this Amwn, Lælius Hamo, or Bericus, struck his coins plentifully, which we have now still extant, in proof of his real existence. Part of these said coins might have been struck before his flight to the continent, and part after his return again to Britain under Roman protection.

The fate of these Southern Belgæ or Firbolgi, after the Roman invasion, was curious and singular. They suddenly turned against the Romans, from some causes and excitements now totally unknown; and Vespasian, afterwards emperor, had a two years campaign against them, with the Second Roman legion and auxiliaries. The Southern Belgæ had united with the Dumnonii, and were under the leadership of Caractacus (see Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 36), and, as it may be understood, of one of his brothers at least. (See *Triad* 79; and compare Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 37.) However, they were beaten, after the storming of twenty of their towns and fighting thirty-two battles (see Suetonius, *Vespasian*, iv, and the *Roman History* of Eutropius, vii, 19). These are all proofs that this southern population of Britain continued consolidated together as a republic. However, Caractacus then waged further wars with the Romans in conjunction with the Silures and other states, and being taken prisoner in the ninth year of the war (Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 36), and conveyed to Rome, he was forgiven by the emperor and sent back to Britain as king of the Southern Belgæ or part of them, under the name of Cogidubnus, and with Regnum or Chichester for his capital. (Compare Tacitus, *Agricola*, xiv.) Caractacus has merely the title of Arviragus, or "the king," in the *British Chronicles*, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of them, but otherwise is styled Guirydd, *i.e.*, "the Justiciary," in the less corrupted *Chronicle of Tysilio*. He is represented as the ancestor of a line of three British kings, governing under the Romans, down to Lucius, the last of them, who died without issue. I may add on this topic, that the Southern Belgæ or Firbolgi, rather more than a century after the Anglo-Saxon invasion, were entirely beaten and routed by the South and West Saxons, and driven before them into Wales and into Dumnonia, as Cornwall and Devonshire were then called; so

that they became mixed with the other Britons, and altogether lost as to their nationality.

Having taken this view of their affairs, I repeat, in recapitulation, that there appears fair evidence of their national existence in the time of the two Roman invasions, namely, the one of Cæsar's, and that of Claudius. They could not then have twice made their appearance in the pages of history, namely, in the year before Christ 55, and in the years of the Christian era 45 and 46, unless they had formed a species of 'United Provinces' in the isle of Britain; which might have been, and appears in reality to have been, effected by a prudent solicitude among their chiefs to keep up this their union in an effective state; so as to resist external pressure, and to make them formidable either as an independent power or as tributaries.

Here then I come to my ultimate point. This confederacy, so important at the time to a numerous population in Britain, could not but have acquired a name. It could not be a bantling that nobody had heard of: on the contrary, it must have had some appellation most familiar to all, and most noticeable and distinctive. Then what was its name? Could it have been the *Commios* in the sense of "The Alliance League and Combination?" Could it have been, in fact, the COMMI(OS) F(IRBOLG), which I have submitted we actually have on coins? It is certain that the term "Commios" occurs in five or six instances on the coins of Gaul: and it is equally certain that we have it in no other sense than that which I have pointed out as used by the Celts in Britain to express a confederacy or alliance, or, if you will, a republic.

I have before mentioned (see pp. 36-7), that the name of the alliance and its confederate head, *i.e.*, the appellations of the governor and government, were in those times and countries convertible terms in the signification of the title COMMIOS: and I have pointed out that this is the case, even in our times, in the names of various offices, which supply us with sufficient instances. In reality the practice is only a proof of long establishment, and of familiarity become habitual by lapse of time.

The title COMMIOS, either in that form or as COMIOS, occurs in full on various Gaulish coins, as has been already noticed; but the reader need scarcely be reminded, that

the appearance of the same word on British specimens is not entire and complete. We have it in its simplest form in the initial C; further, with one letter more added, as Co (p. 43); again we have it, as, indeed, we usually find it expressed by the three first letters, as COM; and lastly, we meet with it in its longest form, as COMMI (p. 43). Nevertheless there exists no imaginable doubt that the word COMMIOS or COMMIVS is actually intended.

Regarding the etymology of this word: its cognates are very numerous in the Celtic, and always in a collective or conjunctive signification. Thus we have in Welsh, *cwmmwd* or *cymmwd*, a district; *cymmwn*, communion; *cymmyddu*, to meet; *cymmod*, reconciliation; *cymmoni*, to arrange; *cymmuno*, to communicate, etc., etc., etc. In fact, there appears an evident affinity with such Latin words as *communis*, *comes*, *communitas*, etc., etc.: nor should it be wondered at that there may be many Celtic roots in a language so copious as the Latin, and that it should not be necessarily all of it derived from the Æolic dialect of the Greeks.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CONTROVERSIES RESPECTING THE ANCIENT BRITISH COINAGE.

It now may be perhaps justifiable to say, that standing ground of the firmest description has been obtained for the inquiries which have been pursued in the four preceding chapters: but there are still numerous examinations to be made of various connecting links of our subject; for it must be remembered that but little systematical investigation has hitherto been made, as to its bearing on new points of history. It must be remembered likewise, that prejudice has had its full swing for a great length of time down to the present day, and every species of misconception has existed, as it will be necessary to show presently more particularly. At the same time, it may be admitted that some real difficulties exist, though indeed they are such as admit of being cleared away in a very satisfactory manner.

I have first to correct a great error. Many have distrusted that the legends on British coins are in every instance entirely Celtic, which they ought without reserve to be received to be. Their first objection is, that the Britons brought over to the island, or suffered to come, Roman moneyers and Greek moneyers, who, they would say, struck British moneys with Roman and Greek types and legends. But it was not the moneyers who ruled the whole affair of the coins; it was the British kings, chiefs, and states, who introduced the types, and ordered them to be struck, and directed with what inscriptions they should be accompanied. Their second objection is, that some of the inscriptions are in Latin.—There never was so great a mistake. It was the kings, as Cunobeline and others, who introduced Latin terminations to improve, as they supposed, the language: and it was the monarch above mentioned, to whom we give the credit of

having attempted to introduce inflexions similar to those of the Latin into his native tongue, in which he appears only to have imperfectly succeeded; for, according to the poem of *Gododin*, written some six centuries afterwards, the British tongue was at that time most lamentably deficient, not only of inflections, but also of adverbs and prepositions, and of much of what we are accustomed to consider essential to fluent speech. No wonder, indeed, for we find it was beyond the power of the Roman emperor Claudius, to introduce and perpetuate a single letter in the Roman alphabet of his day.

But again, they take their last stand and say, "You have the very Latin word REX in various of the legends." It is admitted that we have that word. But REX in its various forms as RIX, RIXS, REIXS, and plain REX, is a Celtic, as well as a Latin word, and may properly have a place in a Celtic legend or inscription. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 108, *et alibi.*) The Grecising of the British coinage consists in occasionally a few Greek letters being introduced in some legends. But let the student make still less account of this than of the Latin inflexions and terminations to which allusion has been made. Consider then the ancient British coinage as a Celtic coinage, and you may understand it, and make it useful to history: but consider it as a species of bastard Roman coinage, and no man can understand it: and it will be pretty well useless to history, or for any other purpose.

I revert again to the Latin inflexions, considering them the great cause with many, for rejecting the ancient British coinage; or, at least, for their paying no attention to it. Let us then examine the case a little more closely.

Both the Gauls and Britons could not be but alike sensible, that they were inferior in point of civilization to the Greeks and Romans; which became the more evident, the more they became acquainted with the literature of those nations. The ancient Celtic language was not without various tenses of the verbs, though indeed, even in that, vastly inferior to the masterly combinations in regard to the notations of time, past, present, and to come, in the verbs of the Greek and Latin: but in regard to their nouns, they had absolutely no variation of case; which made every phrase a mere idiom, and capable only, of being understood from an

acquired meaning. Hence it appeared a language of the utmost barbarity to a stranger; as must indeed have been obvious to the educated Celts themselves. The Gauls adopted the Greek genitive at an early period, as appears by their coins. See the Æduan type as in *Duchalais*, pp. 113-14 and elsewhere, inscribed DVBNOREX DVRNOCOV, which I have also referred to at a former page, where the latter word expressed in the genitive case occurs. They likewise made their adjectives declinable, following the Hellenic terminations of *os* and *anos*, as in SEQVANOS, and other instances. They adopted at a later period, Latin inflexions of nouns and adjectives throughout their various cases, as is shown in the coin of Cisiambos Cattos before given, where we have the words SEMISSOS PVBLICOS LEXOVIO, alluding to the Roman standard having been ordered to be used in the issue of bronze coin. Cunobeline, though we do not find that he made nouns and adjectives declinable altogether, yet introduced among his countrymen both the genitive and ablative: as we have CUNOBELINI and TASCIIOVANI in abundance of instances, and CAMULODUNO and VERLAMIO upon his coins. The effect of this has been contrary to what might have been expected, to lower the ancient British coinage in the eyes of the moderns of the nineteenth century; who seeing also Roman types, and the gods of the Greeks and Romans introduced on the same coins, pronounced that it was merely a degraded imitation of the Roman coinage, and that there is nothing national in it. We may fancy them making the observation, "Did we possess similar recognized instances in the history of nations? Had Peter the Great acted similarly, then we might more readily admit the fact." In answer: What Peter the Great might have done in like circumstances, we do not know; but the cases are not similar.

Peter the Great did not find the Russian language poverty-struck, as to the matter of inflexions: but on the contrary, excessively abundant; since the Russian tongue combines the grammatical constructions of the Sclavonian, Tartarian, and Polish, and is besides, perhaps, the most copious and rich language in Europe. There was therefore no new style which this great civilizer, if he were such, could introduce into the speech of his country: but I have pointed out that the case with Cunobeline was different. Therefore, it should be admitted and received, that though

he uses Latin terminations, his coinage is national; and I think it is truly Celtic.

Some one may casually remark, "We do not find these Latin terminations and inflexions in the poems of Taliesin and Aneurin, six centuries afterwards."—Granted. Cunobeline may have ultimately failed, or his successors; but be it remarked, that the Roman emperor Claudius, to whom I have before alluded, in the next century, with all his power, failed in introducing three new letters into use among the Romans of his date, which were suggested as obvious improvements of the orthography of the Latin language. One of the letters was the F or digamma of the Æolic dialect, to be used for V when pronounced as a consonant: the second was the antisigma, to have the power of Ψ (*psi*) of the Greeks: and the the third was, as Lipsius thinks, the Φ, or, as Vossius supposes, the X or Θ. (See Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, c. 41, and Tacitus, *Annals*, xi, 14.)

It certainly should be borne in mind in considering ancient British affairs of this period, that Cunobeline, who had, according to chronicle and tradition, been brought up at Rome under the supervision of Augustus, was a man of education and refinement. This, I think, is well borne out in his coins, which I consider the true index and reflection of his mind, as concerning the heathen deities he venerated, and the improvements he introduced. The ears of corn on his moneys show, I should conceive, his attention to agriculture; his horse and foot soldiers on other specimens, exhibit his care in forming an army; and his type of the coiner exercising his craft, which piece I consider genuine, shows him—as there may be good reason to think—as the establisher of a national coinage. For such a type is by no means a Roman type; and could hardly have been struck except by express command. His introduction of a Mithraic type, I admit, is somewhat of an extraordinary circumstance (See Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, pl. v, 31), and might seem almost like flying in the face of the emperor Augustus, his patron, who was a determined enemy to all foreign superstitions (See Suetonius, in his *Life of Augustus*, c. 93). We can only suppose that Cunobeline took this liberty as an independent sovereign.

It may be inferred, that the arts of peace and war, which Cunobeline imbibed so sedulously from the Romans, enabled

his sons to make a stouter resistance to the invasion of that people in the year 44 than they could otherwise have done. I mention this as the contrary has been surmised (See Williams' *Essays*, 8vo., 1858, p. 298), which the accounts handed down to us by Dion Cassius, do not appear to warrant. They did not yield during the first year of the war, though the troops of the enemy amounted to four legions and auxiliaries. Nor in the second year were they overcome, without greatly increased numbers being brought over, as we find by the account in the *History* of Zonaras, to reinforce the troops of Claudius; which must have made his forces equal, or superior to the vast armament which Cæsar had brought against Britain in his second expedition.

Thus history does not show that the Britons were deficient; and theoretically, they must have been less capable of combined movements in the field, had they remained in a state of barbarism. Practically, the ferocity of savages is found to be of little use against disciplined forces. Further, we have no reason to think that the Britons lost anything by adopting Roman tactics and discipline, which we are told by Henry of Huntingdon they made use of in after ages, in their contests with the Anglo-Saxons. I consider that their resistance in those wars, which in reality were against the whole of the north of Europe, was highly creditable to them: and they lasted with only one short interval for the space of one hundred and thirty-two years.

We may inquire, what was the state of religion in Britain in the reign of Cunobeline? This is a question which may be here usefully asked, and may be answered thus. We may know with sufficient certainty, that the power exercised by the Druids being regulated, as Cæsar describes, by a secret conclave which had the power of controlling the sovereigns of the island, who could never have been in entire confidence with them, must have been irksome in the extreme to the reigning kings. Therefore, it may be considered that the profuse display of heathen deities, which Cunobeline introduced upon his coins, must have been intended to check the Druidism of his period, and to introduce the usual routine of pagan divinities instead. The same attempt had been made in Hibernia, at some uncertain date before the Christian era, according to O'Connor's *Chronicles of Eri*, part ii, and failed. Nor did Cunobeline succeed in this instance; for

Druidical circles appear plentifully, and sometimes two on a coin, on the moneys of his sons. Indeed, Druidism did not entirely cease till nearly a thousand years after Christ: and then had been slowly dying away for several centuries. According to Origen, in his *Homily*, iv, *on Ezekiel*, the Druids allowed no images or visible form of the Godhead to be represented. This is not borne out by classic authors: but, if true, the Druids must in the times of Cæsar, and in those of the early Roman empire, have much latitudinized. Ausonius calls the Druids "Apollinares mystici", which appears to imply priests of Apollo. We are bound to receive that Cunobeline's sons were well educated, from the speech which Caractacus (who was one of them), made before the Roman emperor Claudius. (See Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 37). The Roman historian may have embellished: but if Caractacus uttered anything like what is there set down, he must have been well versed in Greek and Roman authors.

In regard to this celebrated speech it is indispensably required to say, that having had occasion to examine it critically in the *Britannic Researches*, as given by Tacitus, I found it had been most grossly and ignorantly perverted, and mis-translated by Murphy in his English edition of that author, as indeed it has been in other English translations. I therefore translated it anew, with all possible attention to correctness and the actual meaning of the speaker, and inserted it in the *Britannic Researches*, pp. 356-9, where the reader will find that the tenor of it is widely different from that which is usually supposed.

The altered circumstances of Britain as to the political position of the island, may be somewhat clearly seen in the types of the sons of Cunobeline; that is, in the coins of Adminius, Caractacus, and Togodumnus (Dubnovellaunos). Caractacus has a Greek instead of a Roman type on one coin (see *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 163, 164), and uses Greek letters freely, which shews his disregard for Rome. He has other types exclusively British, as that exhibiting the horseman (*ibid.*, p. 26), which had been a national type in former days. Togodumnus also chiefly introduces the British horse as a type. They all of them, however, appear to concur in representations connected with religious rites, as *bucrania*,—*i.e.*, the skulls of oxen

which had been slain in sacrifice,—fillets of beads, and sacrificial implements. There is little doubt, likewise, but that we have what were intended to portray Druidical circles upon them, and in some specimens two on a coin. With all this, Adminius, who is usually considered, and probably was, the eldest son, does not forget what he might have considered his own peculiar rights, styling himself on one of his moneys, "the king," and on another of them, "the sole king." They all concur in representing the horse as no longer the disjointed horse of the century before, but blazon it forth according to the principles of Greek and Roman art.

Having now given these numerous explanations, I cannot but recommend the work of Baxter to be consulted in most questions relating to ancient Britain. It is entitled *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum;* and it is to be regretted that it does not exist in an English translation. It will be found of singular utility in decyphering these old national inscriptions,—these our ancient British hieroglyphics. Baxter is certainly not an authority to depend upon entirely: indeed, I do not believe that much more than one in half a dozen of his explanations is correct; but it is something to have even a moderate portion of light thrown on our ancient British affairs. He professed, like Pettingal and Pegge, a general fealty and adherence to Camden; as, indeed, most did in those days. Otherwise, his great recommendation is his strict impartiality. He was entirely independent of ultra-Cambrian theories, according to which but little account is made of classical authorities. He was no less entirely unbiassed by what I may term the "Latinist opinions," according to which the Britons were nothing more than a few poor slaves to the Romans during their coining period. He was totally uncontrolled by the old British chronicle-romances and fictions; and last, but not least, he was wholly uninfluenced by the modern sceptical spirit which casts such a chilling mantle of disbelief on the usually received accounts of ancient British affairs. Indeed, the great charm of Baxter is his entire impartiality; and though it may be true that he so unfrequently comes to a right decision by his discussions, yet in the mean time he has generally given his readers such complete information on the subject treated of, that with a mere casual and current knowledge of these

topics, we can easily see from what cause his conclusions have been incorrect.

Should I say more, I might certainly add what must be a very generally prevailing wish, that it would have been very desirable if Baxter had drawn up his Glossary more in a Welsh and less in an Irish form. This last particular is no doubt owing to his great devotion to the eminent archæologist Edward Lhuyd, who made Irish investigations so prominent. Lhuyd, on his part, speaks highly of him in his correspondence. (See *Archæol. Camb.*, for 1859, p. 251.)

When modern literature and philology are so much benefited, and particularly Cambrian literature, by this author, it may excite regret that Mr. Lewis Morris, an antiquary of the last century, many of whose letters are published in the *Cambrian Register*, and some in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, should speak of Baxter with contempt, and characterize him, in a tone of invective, as a "murderer and dismemberer of British words." (See the *last mentioned publication* for Oct. 1789, p. 903.) In answer. It may be easily imagined that Lewis Morris, who is chiefly known as the collector of eighty volumes of Welsh manuscripts, now in the British Museum, might have been exasperated beyond all bounds on finding that there were earlier archaic dialects of the Celtic than he was acquainted with; and extensive and solid materials of ancient British history, which might be sought for in vain among the chronicles and legends of his collection.

Having mentioned Baxter, we may notice how favourably he contrasts with another would-be illustrator of Celtic names in Britain. This person, Mr. Dyer,—a bookseller of Exeter,—in his work called a *Restoration of Ancient Names* (8vo., 1805), selected those of a local nature exclusively, and made every place, without exception, to assume its appellation from ancient names of water,—*am, an, ar, au, on, eu,* etc., etc.; and whereas something more was wanting to make his long array of names coincide with their derivations, he assumed the right of adding any prefixes to his radical words, either of single letters or syllables, which might be required for his purpose; and similarly of supplying letters or syllables at the end *ad libitum;* so that thus he affected to overcome all difficulties, and a volume of above three hundred pages was eked out, while in fact not a single step in advance was in reality made.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER IX.

### CAUSES WHY THE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF ANCIENT BRITISH COINS HAVE BEEN HITHERTO SO LITTLE USED BY HISTORICAL WRITERS.

THE reader, I trust, will not consider the foregoing observations superfluous in shewing the real import of various inscriptions and readings, and consequently exhibiting correctly the actual extent and bearings of our ancient British coinage. Viewing the Celtic legends of this coinage as of value in the light of a collection of historical materials, and with a special regard that they apply to the names of Cunobeline, Caractacus, Adminius, and Togodumnus, and of other chiefs known in history, and to the names of various states and towns of our country in ancient times, I will now accordingly further endeavour to vindicate it.

It has certainly been a disadvantage to this our insular coinage, and a species of drawback to its credit, that much of its most interesting and most important points have only come out late in the investigation of the subject. Public opinion was already formed upon it when it was but imperfectly known. Writers on the subject, indeed, for a very long time scarcely admitted more than the coins of Cunobeline; and even the Government work of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (published in 1848) acknowledges no more as authentic. Not but that Camden, two centuries and a half ago, took a much wider scope; but the framework of his speculations broke down, and it was found that many of his types were merely Gaulish coins grossly misread, and others of his types mistaken in various ways; so that he, after all, advances no further than Cunobeline. Next, there were only desultory writers after Camden for nearly one hundred and fifty years, who either merely implicitly followed him, or exercised their talents on minor points. I

should say, however, that the learned and excellent Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, who published an edition of Camden in 1695, and another in 1710, procured Mr. Obadiah Walker, author of a work entitled *Greek and Roman History illustrated by Coins and Medals* (12mo., 1692), to edit the chapter of the *Britannia* relating to British coins; which he did, adding a second plate. He made many very sensible remarks, but engraved various sceattæ and other uncertain types for British coins, which misled Stukeley, and others who followed him. It is true, likewise, that there was a sharp controversy in the earlier part of the last century, between Mr. Beaupré Bell and Mr. Nicholas Salmon, about ancient British coins. They both disputed very systematically and methodically on assumed facts, though it is evident that the real points of the subject were no more then understood than those of the coinage of Belochistan would be at the present day,—that is, if it have any coinage. Salmon's ideas will be alluded to again presently; and an account of the controversy may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, No. II, Part II, p. 152. See also, for some leading details, the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 117.

A considerable interval of time then elapsed,—that is, about the space of thirty-five years,—when, in 1763, Dr. Pettingall published his essay on British coins, entitled a *Dissertation upon the Tascia, or Legend on the British Coins of Cunobeline and others.* This was breaking the ice to some purpose; and from the ability with which it is drawn up, and from its high historical tone, this short production of only ten quarto pages may claim to be one of the standard compositions of the English language, and some account of its contents has been already given at a previous page. Afterwards Dr. Pegge, in the year 1766, wrote a still more valuable treatise entitled an *Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin*, which likewise has been noticed at a preceding page. This treatise was valuable certainly in many respects, though he appears to have been fully occupied with the idea, as has been before remarked, that there were no other inscribed British coins except those of this sovereign; and he takes great pains to appropriate some to him, which are now fully known not to be his.

It was only a few years afterwards that one of the most

eminent men in England, Thomas Warton, came forward and pronounced that there was no such a thing as an ancient British coinage at all; but that the coins reputed to belong to it, were only moneys of the Visigoths; that is, of the western portion of those hordes of Goths who, in the early Middle Ages, overthrew the Roman empire, and produced a new modification of its kingdoms. (See his *History of Kiddington*, 3rd edition, 4to., 1783, p. 68, and the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 130.) Warton had in his time about the same amount of reputation as the late eminent critics Gifford and Lockhart possessed, and was the author of a work of the highest interest in its way, the *History of English Poetry* (3 vols., 4to.), which many desire with ardour to add to their libraries.

There were other very curious, and, indeed, very extraordinary opinions entertained, and by very eminent men too, as I shall briefly proceed to note. Bishop Nicholson, to whom, perhaps, we have not had many to compare in recent times, except the late Mr. Petrie, or the present highly gifted and learned Hartwell Horne, considered, in his *Historical Library* (fol., 1714, p. 35), the ancient British moneys not to be coins, but amulets; and Thoresby, the learned historian of Leeds, concurs with him in his *Museum Thoresbianum*, p. 337. Thomas Salmon, to whom allusion has been made before, one of the best geographers of his age, pronounced that the British coins, as engraved in Camden's *Britannia*, were not those of British kings, but were brought over by the Goths; and for this he assigned various reasons. Dr. Francis Wise, an eminent antiquary, keeper of the Radcliffe Library, and author of a learned treatise on the Bodleian coins, published in a folio volume in 1751, and entitled the *Bodleian Catalogue*, expressed his opinion that our ancient British coins would be best assigned to France and Spain. Dr. Wise's reputation as author of the said *Bodleian Catalogue*, and his thus in a manner discarding these coins, was probably the occasion of Mionnet's placing the types of Cunobeline among those of Gaulish chiefs (see his *Chefs Gaulois*, No. 30, etc.): indeed, the prejudice against British coins may be elsewhere traced on the Continent. Eckhel, the celebrated author of the *Doctrina Nummorum* and other numismatic works, argued, from Cæsar's *Commentaries*, that the Britons never struck any moneys till the time of Maximus and other such like usurpers. Sestini transfers, in his

*Classes Generales*, in a very decided manner, all the so-called British moneys to Gaul. See more on these points in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 117-118.

Perhaps it may be said: Can it be considered surprising that these and other whimsical notions should have arisen, considering the very barbarous and unartistic delineations set forth as representations of these our ancient coins in Stukeley's *Plates*, in which coins of many ancient nations are made to pass for British types, besides those that really belong to us? In answer. The date of Stukeley's *Plates* is 1765, which is much later than that of the publications of Nicholson, Salmon, and Wise; though, indeed, prior to the work of Warton, which has been before noticed. A few dates may explain matters.

Bishop Nicholson, born 1655, published his work in 1699, and died in 1727.

Thoresby, born 1658, died 1725.

Dr. Wise, born in 1695, died 1767.

Salmon, born —— died 1743.

Dr. Thomas Warton, born 1728, died 1790.

Eckhel, born 1737, died 1798.

Sestini, born 1750, died 1832.

Mionnet, born 1770, died 1842.

The Marquis de Lagoy published his *Essai sur les Médailles de Cunobelinus* in 1826, which first authentically made the Continent acquainted with the reality of the existence of our ancient British coinage: in fact, before the appearance of this work, it had passed for a non-entity on the Continent for a century and a quarter,—from 1699, the date of Nicholson's work, down to 1826. In regard to this country it must likewise have been almost in the same state of non-existence in people's ideas of it, for the lesser period of sixty-seven years; that is, from Nicholson's said work to that of Dr. Pegge in 1766. The ancient British coinage is now fully received on the Continent; and the Marquis de Lagoy says, p. 20, that his essay was, previously to publication, submitted to the inspection of Mionnet, who recommended its publication; so that this eminent numismatist was at last convinced.

With respect to our countryman Wise, some little extra explanation may, perhaps, be required to account for this his somewhat cavalier and supercilious bearing towards the

subject of ancient British coins, which might not have been expected of so learned a man and so good an antiquary. The only thing, as far as we obviously know, is the circumstance that the Bodleian collection of British coins is extremely limited for a public collection, containing not many of Cunobeline, but chiefly those of the Iceni—which, it must be confessed, have somewhat of a foreign appearance—and the whole, for the most part, in very bad condition; and, except as interpreted by better preserved types, very unreadable. Thus the coins he engraves as reputedly British, give but a bad idea of a national coinage; and I conclude that Wise became confused in seeing so few coins, comparatively, of Cunobeline; and so many of those of the Iceni, so noticeable, as before remarked, for their foreign appearance, and certainly having legends especially difficult to read, and often in monogram. He therefore became very cold and sceptical on the subject, and was inclined to read the CVNO on the coins as expressing the (*Taru*) *Cuno*(*nienses*), a people of Gallia Narbonensis, and not as standing for the first two syllables of Cunobeline's name. He admits that there is some probability that Cunobeline might have had a coinage; but as for himself, he appears evidently disposed to put these types off to France, Spain, or anywhere else, rather than to assign them to Britain. Thus a species of knock-down blow was given to the credit of our ancient insular coinage; but it was somewhat kept before the public by Duane's collection, and the certainly apocryphal one of Mr. White, both of which had several types which were much more in detail than those which had come to the notice of Dr. Wise; and the latter cabinet of coins appears to have had more reputation than was justly due to it. (See Pegge's *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 108.)

The effects of these disparagements remain even unto this day; and there being this state of circumstances, the subject came to have no sufficient place in our literature; and when English histories were written, the illustration which might have been obtained, in the early part, from British coins, was omitted. The two controversies which arose towards the end of last century and the beginning of this,—the one on the poems of Ossian, the other on the ancient British poets,—left collaterally a disparaging effect on our subject of British coins; and Ruding, in the narrow limits he assigned

to his inquiries in his great work, the *Annals of the Coinage*, and by the numerous Gaulish coins he introduced, engraved, and described, as British specimens, lowered them much in his time in value and estimation as evidences of history.

I have just referred to the Ossianic controversies as having excited a prejudice: in short, error has been so strongly established, that causes which might be wholly unsuspected have had an influence against the authenticity and credit of the coinage. Having thus prefaced my remark, I now refer back as far as the time of Shakespeare. He treated of, as is well known, the story of Cunobeline in a dramatic form, under the name of Cymbeline. The play, as might be expected from the authorship of it, exhibits various beauties and pleasing scenes; but our great bard has connected it with a series of adventures both grotesque and extravagant, and totally unsupported either by the classics or by the ancient *British Chronicles*, he having taken his plot from a tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. In fact, he has made the story so extremely fabulous as to give it the air and complexion of being connected with no real basis. No one would suppose, from reading Shakespeare's play, that the history of Cunobeline is so well authenticated an affair as it is. On the contrary, it would be rather thought that this ancient monarch was somewhat of a mythical personage. It is not doubtful that from this cause his coinage has been proportionally disregarded; and with it, that of the other Britons also.

To return to my point. All the earlier portions of our English histories—that is, the British or Celtic parts—from a want of reference to the authority of our ancient British coins, are indeed most lame and defective productions, whether they be indited by Lingard, Lappenberg, or the well-intentioned Thackeray, the learned Algernon Herbert, or even by our late celebrated Kemble. It is no matter who may be the author, the result is found invariably the same. Those who make researches into the subject of ancient British moneys, will at once see their errors; particularly if they be otherwise at all well versed in the early antiquities of their country. It is certainly true that many established errors become much cherished; and it is true at the present day, what was formerly said of some of Camden's followers,

that they preferred *errare cum magistro*—that is, to "go astray with their master"—rather than to have gross errors corrected. I believe it rather pleases the generality of readers to have ancient British affairs set forth in as much obscurity as possible, and to have all their details described as uncertain myths, at the same time that our ancient coinage clears many points up. I know something of prevailing tastes; that the public are not inclined to credit, and still less to receive, what they do not find in those they consider standard authors on any particular subject. I recommend, notwithstanding, somewhat of a revolution in many of our ideas connected with our early history, in which the study of the British, and collaterally even that of the Gaulish coinage, leads to different views to those usually entertained.

It will now be perhaps admitted that I may have advanced sufficient reasons to shew the why and the wherefore our ancient British coinage is not more cordially received as historical evidence; and an opportunity has been afforded of forming a proper judgment of the due weight that belongs to it.

Some few details require to be given as to the general dates of the ancient British coinage,—a subject which I have not yet touched upon, except in one or two instances, as in the coins of Vericus, etc. I must refer more specifically for details on this head to the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 145, merely noting here the following brief abstract of the subject.

I. The uninscribed types denominated Karnbrê coins, and which form a considerable series, are believed to have been struck between the years 150 and 75 before the Christian æra; other uninscribed types, being those of the disjointed horse, or, in other words, a degenerated imitation of the coins of Central Gaul, very frequently only struck on one side, the other being plain, and the general form of the coin being convex and concave: these are believed to have circulated in Britain, and across the Channel, in Gaul and Belgium, from the said date, 150 B.C., to the Roman conquest, A.D. 44, under Aulus Plautius.

II. The first inscribed coinage in ancient Britain was evidently that of the Southern Belgæ, or Firbolgi of the island. So far I agree with the late estimable and learned Archdeacon Williams, though he evidently much mistook in the

interpretation of the term COMMIVS. (See before p. 40.) The forming a coinage appears to have been suggested to this portion of our islanders by their proximity to the Roman provinces in Gaul, whence there is but little doubt but that die-sinkers, or otherwise coiners, could always be procured. Chronologically the limits of these southern Belgian coins are consequently easily assigned. They might have been struck as early as the year 54 B.C., and certainly ceased in the year 44 of our æra. The coins of Eppillus, or Carvillius, were the first in this series, and those of Vericus the last. The coins of Tinc(ontium) and Viri(dunum), judging by their workmanship, are near in date to those of Eppillus, so that an interval of thirty or forty years, when no coins were struck by the southern Belgæ, is easy to be supposed. At least none have been at present discovered which we may judge filled up the gap.

III. Cunobeline, acording to Hollinshed's information, with whom Matthew of Westminster nearly agrees, came to the throne B.C. 23, and died in the year 24, according to Higden, or 30 according to Matthew of Westminster. He was brought up at Rome by Augustus, and served him in his wars, according to Guido de Colonna's *Catalogus Pontificum;* Stukeley says he was præfect of the 20th legion, though without giving any authority. *Itinerarium Curiosum*, vol. ii, p. 10. On the whole I am inclined to fix B.C. 50 for his birth, and B.C. 15 for his coming to the throne; whilst we must consider ourselves tied down to the year 41 as the date of his death, by Suetonius. *Caligula*, c. 44, and *Claudius*, c. 17.

IV. The coinage of his sons, Adminius, Togodumnus (Dubnovellaunos) and Caractacus, may accordingly be considered to spread over the time from the year 41 to the year 45.

V. The coins inscribed CATTI, COMVX, QVANGETH, and others of that class, are supposed to have been struck about the year 45.

VI. The coins of the Iceni ceased in the year 62 by the conquest of the territories of that people by the Romans. Their commencement is unknown; though presumably they might have begun with the reign of Prasutagus, which may be assigned to about the year 15 of our æra.

VII. The coins of the Brigantes ceased in the year 79 by the final conquest of that country by the Romans. Their commencement is unknown.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER X.

### CLASSIFICATION OF ANCIENT BRITISH COINS, AND THE DUE USE AND APPLICATION OF THEIR INSCRIPTIONS TO BE MADE BY THE HISTORICAL STUDENT.

ALL due attention on my part has been used to set one thing in order in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*—that is, the classification of our ancient moneys. There had been no classification previously, and none is pretended by any one. It may perhaps be permitted to remark that this defect has been now remedied, and that they are assigned to the different states and kings to which they belonged. The assignment has been a work of some considerable scrutiny and labour, and a full confidence may be expressed that subsequent inquirers on the subject will follow the arrangement which has been made.

When I commenced my researches, I perceived that there was scarce an idea entertained of connecting the coins found, with the ancient states of the island mentioned by Ptolemy and others. It is due to the reader to detail the process by which this was accomplished. In doing this some frequent reference to the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons* is necessary; the papers in which volume came out successively during the space of six or seven years.

The coins of the Iceni were soon partially assigned—see the above work, p. 33—but the first step really in advance was the assigning certain coins to the sons of Cunobeline some months afterwards. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-85, some of which were not fully identified at first; but which turned out to be moneys of Dubnovellaunos (Togodumnus) and of Aedd or Adminius. Next, at a subsequent period, the coins of the Iceni, which had been at first somewhat explored, were more fully searched out and examined. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-102. The coins of various branches of this state, viz., those

of the Coritani, the Cangi, the coins of Sitomagus, and those inscribed "Iugantes," were brought forward. What may be termed the decisive type did not turn up till some time afterwards; that is the one engraved in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 209, and there read VREIS.R. and on the reverse TASCI. That is VREIS(VTAGVS) king and commander. Specimens, however, since found make it probable that the correct reading is VRE(IS) BOD(VOC) and TASCIA(VANVS) for the reverse, which would be "Vreis or Mars (Prasutagus, *Ibid.*, p. 265) the victorious chief or commander." As this coin bore the Icenian symbol or monogram, the IƆCI, *i.e.*, ICCI for "Iceni," and the circumstances of its again coming to light in modern times appeared to be very unexceptionable, I at once received it as a valuable addition to our ancient British types.

The coin was found in Suffolk, and belonged to Mr. C. Roach Smith, and was at first rejected as not being genuine by Mr. Evans. Afterwards the same fate awaited it when exhibited by its owner to a section of the Numismatic Society, who confirmed Mr. Evans' opinion, and all then present disowned its authenticity most unanimously and decidedly; but some time after this, other specimens being exhumated, Mr. Evans changed his opinion, pronounced the type genuine, and prizes it very highly.

Doubts respecting the genuineness of the coin inscribed VREIS, BOD, TASCI, though at last dispelled, of course threw a certain *quantum* of discredit on the appropriation of a class of coins to the Prasutagus of Tacitus, and the Iceni of Britain, but at the same time another line of proofs was silently working itself out. It was near the end of the year 1855 that the eminent and accomplished archæologist, Albert Way, Esq., Director of the Society of Antiquaries, forwarded to me the drawing of a bronze coin found in a tumulus near the Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire, on the obverse of which a horse to the left was displayed, with the inscription gone, while across the coin, on the reverse, was inscribed the legend RVIIS. I could only, in answer to Mr. Way, confess my inability to explain the coin, but suggested that it was of the same class as the coin engraved at p. 258 of the *Coins of Cunobeline*, inscribed CAM(VLOS) DVRO(TRIGΩN), and on the reverse IIVG: which was correct. As yet nothing connected the coin with Prasutagus; however, on the 26th of

January, 1860, Mr. Evans, their secretary, exhibited to the Numismatic Society three coins, with the legend more or less complete, then read as RVLIS. This of course verified the third and fourth letters, and showed the actual legend to be RVEIS for VREIS(VTAGVS), thus realising, in a singular manner, the positions which I had advanced in theory (see the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 265) respecting the coinage of the Iceni and their king.

This episode of the Icenian coins will, I am aware, be considered of interest, as the circumstances connected with it are somewhat remarkable. I now notice a type which has a sphere of its own in the ancient British coinage, and hitherto, as it appears, is an unique specimen.

Various ancient British coins have formerly been engraved in historical works, and to all appearance well engraved too, which have not been met with since. Among them is a coin inscribed VVICV in Gibson's *Camden*, vol. i, pl. ii, fig. 12, and this supplies an interesting topic as to its classification. Pegge engraves it, pl. i, class ii, 5.

The coin is of gold, and from the engraving, as it is not now to be met with, appears to have been in good preservation. The obverse has a loose horse to the right, represented in the act of rearing; underneath is the inscription CVN. The reverse represents a bearded ear of wheat dividing the word VVICV, which is placed across the field in two portions. The coin is one of Cunobeline's, and applies also to the Huiccii, an ancient people of Britain.

Who were the Huiccii whom Bede mentions in his *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, 2, and iv, 13 *et alibi*; and who are also mentioned by *Florence of Worcester*, and by Ethelwerd in his *Chronicle*, iii, 2, who speaks of their capital town "Huuicum"; and who are also spoken of by Nennius in his *Historia Britonum*, c. 67, under the head of the "Regio Huic"? We may ask this question the rather, as they are unmentioned by Ptolemy and Antoninus. In answer. The Huiccii were a part of Cunobeline's dominions lying much to the west, towards Wales, occupying Worcestershire and Warwickshire; or, in other words, the greater part of the northern half of the Dobuni, to the territories of which state they must originally have belonged. They came forward considerably into notice in Anglo-Saxon times, but seem to have been much in the back ground during Cunobeline's

reign; and during the whole Romano-British period. Cunobeline honoured their capital city Huiccum, by striking coins with their name, as he had done in the case of the other British cities, Cunetio, Segontium, and Uriconium. Huiccum, I may add, was the ancient Wigornia, or the modern Worcester, though its mention by the monastic writers may not be decisive on that point.

I have made a digression in regard to a coin of the Huiccii, I now do so in the case of the coins of Uriconium. We have here at once a decided variation: for whereas in the instance before, there was only one type, and that merely an engraved representation, though reputed of good authority, so now we have four types, which, though very proximate to each other in resemblance, are still distinct enough by their varying legends; and in this case the coins are mostly still preserved and accessible, and are uniformly of gold.

The legends are as follows. The first coin, formerly published by the Rev. Mr. Trafford, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iii, p. 152, reads TASCIO . RICON. Secondly, the coin engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1821, p. 66, has TASCIOV. RICON; and as connected with this, Ruding's type, which he refers to, but does not insert, reading TASCIO. VRIOON, can only be considered as a small variation, consisting principally in the different placing of the v. Thirdly, a specimen in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, reads TASCI . RICONI. See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 193; and fourthly, and lastly, a specimen in the Rouen Museum, exhibits TASSIE . RICON. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

The representations in these various types are all nearly precisely the same; and are thus. Obverse, a horseman with shield and helmet, galloping rapidly to the left, holding some implement in his right hand, probably a carnyx, or Celtic war trumpet; and looking back and waving to his men to follow on. Reverse, a row of five spears placed upright against apparently some framework. Mr. Trafford's specimen, engraved in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, represents a carnyx to the left of these, omitted in the others. All of these have a double tablet terminated at each end in two peaks, and placed in front of the row of spears, on which the inscription, in two lines, is inserted, comprising the two words of which it consists, each in one line.

In remark. Both the words TASCIO and VRICON evidently

stand expressed on all these types: the one implying "imperator," that is, military commander, and conventionally, ruler or king; the other denoting the ancient and very renowned city of Uriconium, now so well known as Wroxeter, —and which name is varied in Ptolemy's *Geography*, and in the *Itineraries* of Antoninus, to Viroconium. This is the undoubted basis of all four legends; and being so, it is somewhat remarkable that the initial letter of the name of the town is left out in two of the four legends. The reasons for this may have been (1), that, colloquially there might have been some customary variety in the pronunciation of the name of the town; and (2), that there is every reason to suppose that the V in Uriconium was never pronounced as a single letter, but always in conjunction with the R, as VRICONIVM; so that of course the R would have the most force in the pronunciation of the first syllable,—and thus the said letter V might easily be dropped. We have had a remarkable instance lately in the coin inscribed RVEIS, found within the former dominions of the Iceni; which, in fact, expresses VREIS, the name of Prasutagus. To go to the origin of the name. No doubt need be entertained that it was, in the first instance, Guiredd-o-conium,—that is, the jurisdiction, or seat of justice, from the British word *guiredd*, justice; and that it was gradually ground down as Gwiriconium and Virioconium to its ultimate name Vriconium or Viroconium.

Abundance of other names in ancient Britain and Gaul have been formed by the same process, from the word *guiredd*, as being seats of justice. (See before, pp. 42-3.)

In respect to classification, it has been considered preferable to assign the above coins, reading TASCIO.RICON, etc., to the coinage of Cunobeline, regarding them as struck by that monarch in token of his conquest of Uriconium—if it were so—from the Iceni. It must be admitted that the said coins agree much more with the style of Cunobeline's types than they do with those of the last named state.

We now pass on to the coins of the Brigantes, which have been described in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 87-92, and pp. 171-4. These are coarse and rough types, with inscriptions very unintelligible, but still demanding their due and proper consideration in the array of the other coins of the island; which they received.

The important types of the Firbolgi, or Southern Belgæ of Britain, were duly assigned nearly from the very first, and followed up on every occasion as fresh types were discovered during the whole of the time over which the papers composing the work of the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons* extended,—which, as before noted, was six or seven years. The coins of the Dumnonii—a coinage spreading over no long space of time—were likewise assigned during that period (pp. 139-144). The above is the process and order in which the classification was finally arranged and effected; and full details having been given on the subject in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, it is not necessary to go over it again in the present work: indeed, the classification of ancient British coins, when once pointed out, is too obvious to require much further debate; and its principal features have, besides, been touched upon in these pages.

There are but few who will not be inclined to admit that, one way or other, the interpretation of ancient British coins has now assumed a very advanced position; and I must give all due credit to the labours of many of the able numismatists of the day; among whom may be cited the names of Akerman, Evans, Birch, Hawkins, and some others. With them we must join the name of the late Mr. Burgon; and I must also specially include my friend Mr. C. Roach Smith, from whom I have received very cordial and essential assistance. Nor does it appear, from a reference to the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, that we are, on the whole, deficient in specimens; but, on the contrary, have a very competent supply of types in public and private collections, so as to be able to illustrate very extensively numerous points of the Celtic period of our history, now that they have been classified. Not but that further specimens are still desirable; but the tide of forgery sets in very fast in our days, and the strictest caution should be exercised as to adding types professedly newly discovered, whether to public or private collections. Every newly supplied coin becomes an evidence, and may equipoise in authority a genuine coin; nay, may frequently overweigh its credit, and establish in history some fact quite fallacious. In short, there are cogent reasons enough to unite all numismatists in the bonds of a common interest in excluding the spurious manufactures of the forger.

I will now touch on a point or two in a miscellaneous way: and first, as to our government work, the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, which treats on the subject of ancient British coins; and it is required to state to what extent it supplies materials for reference.

The learned editor, then, who so well followed up the labours of the late Mr. Petrie, and ultimately sent forth the volume to the public, is understood not to be responsible for this part of the work, or only so in a very secondary sense, as it is known to have been supplied by others. It may be briefly specified, then, that the article principally consists of a plate of fifty-three types, some very few miscellaneous remarks, and a detailed description of the plate. As to the plate: it must be obvious that the coins are therein engraved in the first style of representation, being about equal to those in Ruding's plates of British coins, in his *Annals of the Coinage*,—which is saying a great deal, as they are among the best we have. But the number given (fifty-three) is too small for reference; and, singularly enough, contain scarcely any except the coins of Cunobeline, so that the inquirer has still to seek for those of the other British kingdoms of the island: that is, for the moneys of the various states of the Iceni, of those of the Brigantes, and of the Southern Belgæ. The principal deficiency, then, is of quantity rather than quality; and it need only be added of the explanations, that those are given which were most current in 1847, the year of publication, without regard to any other circumstances.

It may be added, that to make the coins altogether useful as historical materials, the weight of each should have been given, as is frequently required for numismatic purposes,—which is, however, altogether omitted in the work; likewise, it should have been stated with each coin, from what source it had originally been obtained, as also, as far as practicable, what hands it had passed through down to the present time.

The inscriptions on the coins of the Gaulish and ancient British coinages have thus been gone through with. Of course there might be a greater number collected in both coinages; for not to say that various legends may have been unintentionally omitted, it has not, of course, been practicable to give all the varying inscriptions of each cognate class of coins, which would swell the list to a very increased

amount. It may, however, safely be said that nothing material is thus lost either to history or to the illustration of the politics of those ancient times. But now how shall we strike the balance as to the relative value of each series of inscriptions, *i.e.*, of the Gaulish and of the British classes. I think we must pronounce of them to this effect. The Gaulish inscriptions are certainly the most numerous; but not so much so as might have been expected, considering the greater phalanx of the Gaulish coins. The Gaulish inscriptions relate principally to chiefs and states; but with two or three, or at any rate with few, exceptions, neither the chiefs nor states are much connected with history; but, rather singularly, there is much elucidation to the inscriptions and legends of the coins from lapidary inscriptions found in different parts of France. The inscriptions on British coins, on the contrary, relate to kings and rulers mentioned by Dion Cassius, Suetonius, Tacitus, and even Julius Cæsar; and to states distinctly referred to by Cæsar, Ptolemy, and Solinus. But it is observable that when these and other similar sources of information fail, no help can ever be derived from lapidary inscriptions.

The French Record Commission is likewise forming a collection of Celtic lapidary inscriptions existing in France. It is at present not obviously known in this country what success they are likely to meet with; but it seems pretty generally understood that Celtic remains are rare in the south and east parts of France. However, such things turn up by industry and research. While as to Celtic lapidary inscriptions in England, it may be pronounced that they are rare indeed. There are a few instances, it is believed, in Wales; but even these are late in the Middle Ages: for while the Romans were in the country, there was a tendency to use the imperial language even among the Celts; and this tendency, in some other countries, produced the dialect of Latin called the Provençal; and would have done so here, had not the arrival of the Saxons beaten it out of the island.

# CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

## CHAPTER XI

### GLOSSARY.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE AND REQUISITES OF GLOSSARIES ADAPTED TO EXPLAIN ANCIENT CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS.

So changeable were the Celts, that their language, from the time of Julius Cæsar to the date of Aneurin and Taliesin, or in the space of six centuries, became so modified in its words and phrases as virtually to form a new dialect of its own; and one great cause was, that, added to their versatility, Druidism had been put in the background; Christianity in great part adopted; and that they had formed new political combinations, and acquired new habits of life. After this epoch, in the course of the sixth century, the Celtic language once more materially changed, and a new form of it obtained currency, which continued down to the thirteenth century, the æra of the later mediæval British poets. It has been changed again as our own times have been approached, and down to the time of our modern Celtic lexicons, vocabularies, and grammars. The result of all this is, that we have very perfect dictionaries of the various Celtic dialects as now spoken; but only possess remnants of the ancient Celtic of the two earlier periods which I have specified. I may be, perhaps, permitted to call these three stages of the Celtic, the primary, secondary, and tertiary dialects of that tongue, for the sake of precision.

I have just asserted that we have only remnants even of the secondary dialect remaining. I mean, inasmuch as that a good deal of it is unknown, as appears from various con-

troversies which have taken place, and essays which have been written to explain the writings of Celtic authors of this date. But in regard to the primary dialect, a very considerable portion of it is absolutely lost *en masse*, as we know casually from history, from Celtic coins, from the *Itineraries* of Antoninus, and from the *Chorography* of Ravennas. A quantity of words will be met with which will be found in no dictionaries, and which consequently must be explained from their obvious roots, from collateral illustrations of ancient authors, and from the general analogy of the language.

Another element connected with primary Celtic must be noticed. The ancient Teutones overran the northern part of Gaul, and settled there. They accordingly introduced a considerable mixture of Teutonic words and forms into the Celtic language. This was very strong at first, as Cæsar says that the speech of the Belgic Gauls was different from that of the other Gauls: so much it struck him. This, however, was soon very much softened down, as appears from the form of ancient British words as in *monetary inscriptions* and in the *Itineraries*, though I believe that certain traces of it may still be distinguished at the present day in the modern Welsh. I have accordingly noticed the Belgico-Celtic derivatives in such archaic words or inscriptions in which they may have made their appearance.

As to what is necessary now to do. I will supply an alphabetical list of primary Celtic words on coins, many of which have been hitherto entirely unknown or misunderstood. All due care has been taken in the compilation of the glossary now offered, which, it is presumed, will very materially facilitate the correct interpretation of our present Celtic monetary inscriptions, or of any others respecting the meaning of which any question or discussion might arise.

Various collateral words are added, as indeed was requisite; for though not occurring on coins, some of them still are such as are likely to afford illustration, and may not be of improbable occurrence on coins in future discoveries.

This glossary, it is submitted, will often be found to decide the reading of inscriptions which may happen to be obliterated, or otherwise difficult to be made out, as that (p. 6) of CONTOVTOS (comp. *Lelewel*, p. 226, etc.), and may practically be found highly useful in the classification of the inscriptions.

## GLOSSARY OF ARCHAIC CELTIC WORDS NOW IN GREAT PART OUT OF USE, BUT OCCURRING IN ANCIENT CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON COINS.

Authorities consulted.—OWEN PUGHE and RICHARDS for the *Welsh;* O'REILLY for the *Gaelic;* SHAW, ARMSTRONG and MACLEOD, and DEWAR, for the *Scotch Gaelic,* otherwise *Erse;* VILLEMARQUÉ, *Armorican,* etc.; besides various other writers and other sources of information.

### A.

A, *and.* (Welsh). Still in use.

AC, AX, or ACH, is from the Teutonic *acht,* a charge, office, or care; as in the name Segonax, which occurs in Cæsar, and other examples. It is not found at present in any Celtic monetary inscriptions; but is mentioned here as giving an instance of a Belgico-Celtic word, and one of somewhat frequent occurrence in Cambrian literature. (See *Britannia Antiqua,* p. 337.)

ADMINIUS. The import of this Celtic name is *At-Minos, i.e.,* the devotee to, or the votary of, Minos. The father of Cunobeline, according to the ancient *British Chronicles,* is invariably represented as a most rigid observer and administrator of justice. The *Chronicles* appear to be worthy of credit in relating this; and it may be regarded to have been to please his father in his ideas, that he named one of his sons ADMINIUS, or "a votary of Minos," a person who had been, in his day, one of the most celebrated lawgivers of antiquity. The *Chronicles* further relate that he named another of his sons by the appellation GUEIRIDD, *i.e.,* "Justice"; or, according to the idiom or conventionality observed in several Celtic names, as Commius, Cynan, and others, "an Administrator of Justice." (See previous passages in the present work, at pp. 42, 71, 94; and also the *Coins of Cunobeline,* p. 179; and the *Britannia Antiqua,* pp. 336-338.) The said Gueiridd, it may be as well to say, was the celebrated British chief otherwise known as Caractacus.

The name of Adminius on coins is AMMINUS, and at other times AEDD (see again the *Coins of Cunobeline,* p. 228), which we know is by no means an unusual Celtic name, and according to Richards (see his *Dictionary*) is the same as the Latin appellation Aëtius.

Respecting *Minos,* again, we find by Cæsar's *Commen-*

*taries* (*Gaulish Wars*, vi, 16), that the Celts of Gaul, in his days, worshipped Pluto. We find likewise by the ancient *British Chronicles*, another instance of the regard of the Britons to the infernal deities; for we are informed by them that one more of the princes of this royal line, the brother of the above mentioned Timancius, and great uncle of Adminius, was named Androgeus, after another son of the said Minos, king of Crete. (See *Britannic Researches*, pp. 223, 227-230, 232-234, 236, 298, 302.)

AMBACTUS. This occurs as a sole inscription of a coin of Gallia Lugdunensis. See *Lelewel*, p. 234, and pl. ix, 9, and *Duchalais*, p. 158, and its meaning is so plain, of (native) client, dependant, or retainer, as given by both those writers, that nothing further need be said on that point. The word is mixed with Celtic and Greek, as many were in Gallia Lugdunensis, and the derivation is *An* (amt) *-acticos*, *i.e.*, "native official or deputy."

AMBILLIL. *Ambi*(*ani*) and *illil*. See ILLIL.

AMBIORIX. *Ambi*(*ani*)*-o-rix*, king of the Ambiani.

AN. Belgico-Celtic; and only used in composition, when it is frequently varied to *am*. The signification of this word is an office; and, by association of ideas, the holder of it. This word appears to have been adopted from the Teutonic *amt*, an office or employment, and originally from the Hebrew "*On*" (the earth), which word also apparently acquired the sense of a possession. There were, primitively, temples to On, or the earth, in Egypt, and statues erected to that pagan divinity (see Holloway's *Originals*, vol. i, p. 337); but afterwards this worship was superseded by that of Cybele. It should likewise be observed that the word *an*, in the sense of an office or government, or governor, is varied to *aun*, *aint*, or *on*, in various Celtic words, as in Meiriawn, Cynan, Geraint, Tasciovan, Farin (Vawr-an), Caredigion, etc. (See *Britannia Antiqua*, p. 336.)

ANDECOMBOS. *Andecavi commios* and *bos*; *i.e.*, the leader and legislative judge of the state of the Andecavi.

ANDOBRU. *Andecavi* and *bro*. The country of the Andecavi.

ARD, *high*, is not in the Welsh or Armorican; but according to Armstrong, Shaw, and Macleod and Dewar, is in the dialect of the Scotch Gaelic. It is in Gaelic, as is so said, in the word *aad*.

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ARECOMICI, *i.e.*, *Ares*, Mars; and *comici*, confederates, from COMMIOS,—which see. This term was a name of distinction assumed by one of the divisions of the Volcæ, a people of Gallia Narbonensis, who combined Greek with Celtic.

ARGENTOCOXOS. A Caledonian Briton mentioned by *Xiphilinus*. The correct etymology probably is *Ard-cyn-o-taxos, i.e.*, "the high, chief commander." The two last syllables (*coxus*), as they stand in the text of Xiphilinus, do not form any British word.

ARVIRAGUS (pp. 33, 71, 106). *Ard* and *rhaig*, king paramount: a name of Caractacus in the *Chronicles*.

AT, *to* (Welsh); and still in use. It is in use also in the English language, and is the same word as *ad* in Latin, and *à* in the French; but it is not met with in the German. It is from the Celtic, I conceive, that we derive a very singular use of the term *at* in English, as in the phrase, "What are you at?" This is good English; but I cannot find a trace of the same idiom in any other language.

ATEULA. The etymology of this word seems to be nothing more than AT-ULAT, *i.e.*, *Vlat*, in the sense of attendant or servant, *i.e.*, devotee to Mars. It may be suspected that the name of Attila, though a Hun, had the same derivation, and had been acquired by him when he marched westward into Europe. ATEULA and VLATOS are often joined together very inconsiderately in their references by various writers; which should not be, as they are perfectly distinct legends,—that is, as distinct as one face of a coin can be from another; as distinct as the "Georgius III" on the obverse of some of our coins may be from the "decus et tutamen" of the reverse.

ATHIRIM (p. 9). *At*, to, and *hir*, remembrance; *i.e.*, in commemoration of.

ATPILOS (p. 11.) *At*, to, *pilla*, dynasty, and *os*, adjective termination; "Hereditary king."

AUG (*Lelewel*, ix, 11), stands for Augustodunum, not Augustus.

AUSCROCOS (p. 9). *Auscro*, belonging to the Auscii, and *cos*, a Druidic priest; *i.e.*, the priest of the Auscii.

B.

BEL, this word is to be understood as a contracted form of the name Belinus, or Apollo, in all cases where it occurs

connected with topographical names in Great Britain, as in the words Belerion, Beltyne, etc. But where it forms part of archaic words it seems better to understand it in the more primitive form of Bel, or Baal, *i.e.*, "the lord," as in the word BELATUCADR (pp. 13, 25) for BEL-AT-O-CADR. This word occurs in a lapidary inscription in England, conjoined with Mars, in this form, DEO SANCTO MARTI BELATUCADRO, as in Lysons' *Reliquiæ Romanæ*, No. 37, and is to be interpreted as "the lord, *i.e.*, the divinity; accustomed to the dire onslaught of battle," or, in other words, Mars. The word Baal, Bel, or Belus, it seems has two significations; one as a proper name, the other as "lord." This double form is quite agreeable to the ancient oriental use of the word. Compare *Judges* vi, 31, and 1 *Kings* xviii, 21, with 1 *Samuel* xii, 10; in the two former of which passages the word Baal means some determinate divinity, while in the latter passage *baalim*, the plural number of the word *baal*, means divinities generally. When Baal, Bel, or Belinus, is to be taken as the name of any specific divinity, it is to be understood to signify, in the western parts of Europe, Apollo. (see *Ausonius* and other *authorities*), while in the east it implied Jupiter, according to Pliny, who, in describing Babylon, says, "Ibi Jovis Beli templum." In English, "There is the temple of Jupiter Belus."

BELERICA, *i.e.*, BEL-Y-RI-CAE, meaning the sacred temple-inclosure of Belinus or Apollo the king." This is the name of two places in south Britain; Billericay, in Essex, and Belerica, in Kent, two miles from Lymne, in both which places must have been anciently temples. Dyer, in his *Restoration of Ancient Names*, pronounces that *cais* is a stream or rivulet in the Gaelic of Scotland, p. 31. Such, however, is not the case, as the word is *casse*, and not *cais*. (See p. 106.) There is a good representation of a temple inclosure on a coin of Alexander Severus. See it engraved in Valliant's *Numismata*, vol. i, p. 142. The description of the coin is as follows. *Obverse*, the laureled head of the emperor to the right: inscription; IMP. CÆSAR M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. *Reverse*, the Temple of Jupiter Ultor and its inclosure, with the legend, JOVI VLTORI P.M. TR. P. III. COS. II., and in the exergue, S. C.

BELERION, the ancient name of the promontory called the "Land's End," the first land in Britain on arriving from the

south, by sea. Literally it is *Bel-y-ri-on*, that is, the possession (or land) of Belinus the king. The whole island, in Druidical times, being supposed to be dedicated to Apollo. It was called also, in Ptolemy's time, Antivestæum.

BERICUS, see VERICUS.

BIRACOS. See *Conbruse*, No. 730, and the Pembroke *Catalogue*, or, as it is otherwise called, Herbert's *Numismata*. This was by some formerly supposed to be British; but it seems rather to be BIRACOS for BIBRACTICOS, and to be a Gaulish coin of Bibracte, a city of the Ædui.

BODUOC, victorious. It occurs on an ancient British provincial coin, and on coins of Prasutagus. It is in modern Welsh in the form *buddig*.

BOLG (*Gaelic*), in the sense of "Belgic," *i.e.*, a Belgic man or thing, occurs in O'Brien's dictionary of the Irish language, and in many other works, as in Keating's *History*, etc.

BOS or BUS is a Celtic word, occurring in the Gaulish monetary inscription CISIAMBOS, in another Gaulish one, which we have, in the form ANDECOMBOS, and also in the Pannonian monetary legend BUSU. It is evidently a title, from its association in the honorary name or appellation CYSSEFIN-AM-BOS, where the words "of the first rank" precede. As this Cisiambos was the supreme of the legislators and judges of the Lexovians of Gaul, to whom the coin belonged, for he was *Vercobret* or president; so it is to be presumed that the word BOS represented that order of legislators or judges out of which he, as *Vercobret*, or supreme legislator of the state, was selected. I must accordingly claim the same license which has been allowed to Sir Henry Rawlinson and other interpreters of inscriptions, and assume that *bos*, among the ancient Celts, or *busu*, in the Pannonian dialect, implied "judge."

The word is at present obsolete in our dictionaries, as far as my researches extend, but I conceive it to have been derived from the Celtic word *pwyso*, to weigh; which Mr. Richards acquaints us is also found in the Armorican dialect.

BRENHIN and BRAN, in Welsh (see *Richards*), are words which have had a currency, in ancient and modern times, with the meaning of "king."

BRÒ, country, region, territory; one's own country; one's native country. Armorican, Villemarqué. It signifies in Welsh a plain, a flat, a low country only, according to

Owen Pughe, but Richards limits the use of the word to Glamorganshire. It is not in the Gaelic, according to O'Reilly, but, according to Shaw, it occurs in the Gaelic of Scotland in the form of *bru*, a bank. Armstrong gives it so; but marks it with a †, as obsolete; Macleod and Dewar likewise give it. In the form of braes for heaths it is very commonly in use in modern Scotch-English. The frequent recurrence of the word "bruyere" in our ancient law fines and recoveries cannot fail to strike every one who makes researches among our ancient records. This circumstance assures us at any rate of the great extent of heath and uncultivated ground formerly existing in the kingdom.

BRYER. Welsh; implying lord or baron, according to Owen Pughe. It is not in Shaw, Armstrong, or Macleod and Dewar. It is not in Villemarqué, and is not given by O'Reilly; but has once existed in the Gaelic of Ireland, as is very plain from the modern Irish name Bryan, which signifies a provincial nobleman.

## C.

CADR (Armorican) appears to be compounded of the two words, *cad*, battle, and *gwr*, a man; and to mean combative.

CADVRCI, *i.e.*, *Cad-erch-(ci)*, that is, "the warriors terrible in battle." The name of a state in *Gallia Aquitania*.

CAE, an inclosure in Welsh and Armorican. (See *Owen Pughe* and *Villemarqué*.) Being associated with the name of a divinity, in the local names Billericay in Essex, and Belerica in Kent, it may be viewed as most probable that a sacred or temple-inclosure may frequently be meant by this word. (See before, under BEL-Y-RI-CAE.)

CAMULUS. This Celtic divinity is allowed to have been, by almost universal consent, the same as Mars.

CANT. An ancient British word denoting an angular projection or division of any superficial surface.

CANTORIX (p. 6). *Cant-o-rix*. The king of a district or division.

CARACTACUS. Attempts have been made by various persons to give the correct etymology of this name; but in every case, as far as I am aware, without success. O'Connor, in his *Chronicles of Eri* (vol. i, p. 321), assuming the Gaelic dialect, has it *Cath-reacteac-eis*, *i.e.*, "the leader and director

of the host in battle." This alters the first syllable, and displays too much circumlocution. The better derivation will be *Caer-vraight-tagos*; in English, "the fortress royal commander," or more literally, "king-commander." This appears to agree sufficiently with the occurrence of the name on coins in the forms CAERATIC, CEARATIC, and KERATIK, as also with his name ARVIRAGUS, as in the ancient *British Chronicles;* the obvious etymology of which is *Ard-vraight*, or "high king." The original form of the name, I have supposed, *Caer-vraight-tagos*, would have had pretty much the same force and import as the title *Præfectus Prætorio*, or the "Prefect of the Pretorium," which was common at Rome in the time of the emperors; and the opinion may be entertained that Cunobeline had made Caractacus, in the insurrection of Adminius (see *Suetonius, Caligula*, c. 44), his commander-in-chief and military governor of Camulodunum. Caractacus' other name, as in the *Chronicles*, was GUEIRYDD, or literally, the "administrator of justice."

CARTISMANDUA. The derivation of this name appears to be *Gwarcheidwad-mann-dwtia, i.e.*, in English, "the divine guardian of the country." Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was, as it is well known, a female who took the government of her country into her own hands; which might make the name very applicable. (See Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, c. 40.)

CARVILLIUS. A British-Belgian chief mentioned by Cæsar. The etymology is *guayr* for *guanar*, a noble; and *illil* for *eppill, i.e.*, "the hereditary chief or ruler"; and is the same person as the EPPILLUS of ancient British coins.

CASSE. A spring of water. Scotch-Gaelic. (*Shaw.*) This word probably forms the first syllable of the word KESTON, a local name in Kent, and connected with a very extensive ancient camp. There is a fine spring of water at the place; and the first syllable is pronounced very forcibly as *kess*. This word appears also to be the root of our term "cascade." As in like manner the Welsh word *rhaider*, meaning also cascade (*Richards*), now apparently obsolete, is the origin of our term "mill-race."

CASSIVELLAUNOS (p. 24). *Cassi-Vellaunos.* The Apollo, *i.e.*, king of the Cassi.

CATYEVCHLANI. The name, as in *Ptolemy*, of the ancient British tribe or clan of the Cassii. The derivation is obvi-

ously thus: *Caty-uch-chlani, i.e.*, in English, "the greater tribe or clan of the Cassii," to distinguish them who were the main clan or tribe of this state, whose territories comprised the present Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, from their subordinate province of the Western Girvii, or what now is Huntingdonshire; which they are believed to have held in subjection as their humble dependents, as the word "Girvii" appears to imply a state and condition at best but little better than that of bondsmen.

CISIAMBOS (p. 11). *Cyssefin-am-bos.* The judge in office of the first rank. See BOS.

COMANVS. This seems to have had the same sense as COMMIOS; but, however, as only signifying the commander, not the command, and was only in use in Gaul. The real construction and etymology of this word seems to be thus: COMMIOS-AN-OS. The termination, *os*, is merely an adjective form frequently subjoined by the Celts of Gaul. The addition, *an*, merely implies "in office."

COMMIOS, a confederacy; and, by association of ideas, the chief or leader at the head of it; as has been sufficiently commented upon in some previous passages of this present work.

I think it needless to enter, at this place, into discussion of the reasons for the interpretation of this word, which are given at length in the *Coins of Cunobeline* and in the *Britannic Researches*, as also in the *Britannia Antiqua*. It undoubtedly has been controverted; but I do not know that any one has dissented, who, I have reason to think, has candidly considered the subject. Some few, I think, may have possibly chosen to sacrifice their own opinions for the sake of coinciding with their more immediate friends. The interpretation appears to be supported by numerous irrefragable arguments; and we may have no difficulty in understanding that each powerful Gaulish or British chief or king had so much territory of his own, and a certain number of chiefs actually his dependants; and again, that he had so many other chiefs and states in confederacy, and in alliance with him, who considered themselves independent. Thus this said chief paramount would have been in his own territories the REX or SWYDDOG—or if his ideas were lofty, the "Mars" or "Apollo"—of his immediate subjects; while he would have been the COMMIUS of his confederated states; and when

he led his whole concentrated forces to battle, he would have been their TAGOS, or perhaps their TAXIMAGULUS, being their actual commander in war. We have something very like this specified in an ancient elegy on Cadwalader, which Baxter brings to our notice in his page 173; who is described as having fourteen battalions of his own, and thirty of his allies; and he was thus truly an instance of the three titles, REX, COMMIOS, and TAGOS: that is, he would have had those titles in an earlier age, for we do not know for certain that they were continued in use down to the time of Cadwallader.

CON, in the classics CONIUM, in Celtic apparently GUNETHA; and appearing likewise to be the GUNTIA of the Chester inscription, mentioned by Camden, Horsely, and others. This word, whose variations, I admit, are extensive, would seem to have been used in the sense of a "vice-royalty," or of a "province," equally in Britain, Hibernia, and Caledonia. Gaul, also, appears to supply us with examples; and in Asia Minor, in no remote vicinity to the ancient Gaulish colony of Galatia, we have Iconium, which we may dissect as *Y. Conium*, or, "the viceroyalty or province;" and the Galatians, we find, had at one time domination in that region.

In Gaul we have the inscription CINCONEPVS on a coin. (See p. 10, *ante*.) This word, etymologically examined, is *Cyn-con-ep-us*, which is, in English, "the hereditary prince of the chief province." The syllable *us* is merely added as a terminative, the reason of which seems solely to be that most Celtic titular names were accustomed to be put in the form of adjectives. (See the former, p. 6, *et alibi*, on this point). Uriconium supplies us with a notable instance of the use of this word at home.

CONTVTOS, apparently *Cyntutos, i.e., cyn-twos*, or "chief leader." Which would be a word of somewhat the same import as *tascio* or *tagos*.

COR. The meaning of this word is first very undoubted in Armorican and Welsh, in the sense of an hypæstral circular pagan temple,—that is, a Druidical stone-circle in the open air; and secondarily, the same consecrated and used as a Christian church. The term in this, or in the former sense, cannot be found in any dictionaries; but that it was so used, clearly appears from Cynddelew and other poets of the Middle Ages. The term "quire," or "choir," as part of

a modern church, is still in use; and is either derived from this word, or from the Greek, or from both. The word *côr*, in composition, appears on Gaulish coins in CORILLISSOS and other inscriptions.

Cos, a priest. Having lost some former references, of years back, relating to this term, my proofs will be somewhat impaired. I must chiefly point out that we have *coz* in the Cornish dialect, as an "elder," as we find from Borlase; and *koz* in the Armorican, in the same sense as Villemarqué informs us. We may consider it sufficiently ascertained from the inscription found under the church of Nôtre Dame, as in Montfaucon, vol. ii, pl. 190, and p. 424, that the Druids were called *Senani*, or elders: which word may be considered to be well paralleled by *coz* in Celtic, implying "elder," as we have seen. In fact, we find that a priest was called presbyter, or elder, in Greek. This word, I take it, explains a line of Celtic which has been hitherto not understood. When Cæsar was taken prisoner by a skirmishing party of the Gauls, his life was preserved, and his release was procured, by one of the enemy, who exclaimed to his captor, "Ke Cos Kaiser"; that is, "let go Cæsar, the Pontifex Maximus, *i.e.*, the Cos, or priest"; which words, as Servius, an author of the fifth century, tells us, who relates the anecdote in his *Notes* to Virgil, had the desired effect. The superstitious Gaul might have supposed that he should draw down upon himself personally and individually the vengeance of all the heathen divinities worshipped by Cæsar—the thirty thousand gods of Rome—if he should injure their high priest. Like many other important Celtic words, it had a close alliance with the ancient Hebrew, as Baxter well observes in his *Glossary* (Preface, p. iv), of the word *cohen* in the latter language, which stands in juxtaposition with the very similar word in ancient British, and with precisely the same signification in both languages, of priest and senator.

CVNO, *king*. British. Here we have a Belgico-Celtic word beyond all doubt, as *konig*, in the same sense, is still in use all over Germany. There was a time when it almost excited indignation with some, to advance that any admixture of Teutonic existed with the Cymraeg. Now it has become too obvious. Indeed, the ancient Cambrians chased their elain, or deer, in Wales; as they of Belgic descent do their eland, or buck, at the Cape of Good Hope. What further proof,

then, do we want? Some remarks on the word *cuno* will be found in the *Coins of Cunobeline* and in the *Britannic Researches;* and I need here only briefly state the import of the name Cunobeline, is no other than "the king Belinus," it being an extremely common thing among the Celts to take the names of their divinities,—a custom which, we find from Sir Henry Rawlinson, was superabundant among the ancient Assyrians, and even prevailed in the second and third centuries at Rome. It appears somewhat singular that this is not a more recognized fact at the present day. If this point were more fully adverted to, it would frequently save the trouble of much erroneous conjecture in the due understanding of ancient Celtic affairs, as well as those of Assyria.

There are some remarks in the celebrated Edward Lhuyd's *Correspondence* on this name as printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1859, p. 248. He says that "the ancient Britons and Romans expressed *Kyn* in British names by *Cuno,* and that towards the eighth century, both the Britons and Irish rendered it *con.*"

In regard to this we may remark that this eminent antiquary hardly seems to take a sufficiently widely extended view of the subject. The word CVNO seems to have been a distinct term by itself, a Belgico-Celtic word in fact, and at the present time, as has been observed, to be represented by the widely extended Germanic form *konig* or king. This title, CVNO, in fact, first appears connected with the name of Cunobeline, and became disused in about five centuries, the last instance of it being in the name CVNEGLAS, in the *History* of Gildas, c. 32. In short, the class of names to which Lhuyd appears to allude as *Conmarch,* etc., are composites of *cyn* in the signification of "head" or "chief," and not of the title CVNO. In that way we have the corrupted form of Cymbeline, for Cunobeline, which prevailed in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

CYN, in composition, in Welsh, according to Richards and others, signifies "chief," or "principal," and is still in use.

CYNGETORIX. *Cyn-y-tws-(a)-rix, i.e.,* "the chief commander and king."

CYSSEFIN, first. Welsh. Richards, etc. It occurs in the word CISIAMBOS.

## D.

DUBNOVELLAUNOS (p. 24). *Dobuni Vellaunos, i.e.*, "the Apollo," or "king of the Dobuni."

DUCARIVS. See Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, p. 103; *Livy* xxii, 6; and Silius Italicus, *De Bello Punico*, v, 645. He was a Gaul of the nation of the Insubres, a people of Gallia Cisalpina, who displayed very extraordinary daring at the battle of Trasimenus, the issue of which he is said to have decided. The etymology of his name is *Dwtios Guayr*, or the "divine noble" or "leader."

DUR, water: in archaic Celtic, as also in the Gaelic of Ireland. *Dour* in Armorican, Cornish, and Scotch Gaelic, but marked with a cross by Armstrong in his dictionary as obsolete in the latter dialect. *Doour* in the Manx dialect.

DUROTRIGES (p. 91). *Dwr-trigo, i.e.*, "Water-Dwellers." This word being of the *Græco-Celtic* form, the genitive plural would most naturally be *Durotrigωn*, which I have accordingly adopted. Herein I have the authority of the Latin poet Catullus, who has the passage in his *Coma Berenices*, l. 48, translated from Callimachus.

"Jupiter ut chalybωn omne genus pereat."

In English—O, Jupiter, might all steel whatever perish! *i.e.*, as forming instruments of destruction.

DVBNOBRO, *i.e.*, *Dubno, bro* (see Lelewel, p. 238) may be taken to mean "the country or territory of Dubno;" who had the title of king, and struck various coins, whoever he might be. See ANDOBRU.

DWTIOS, divine. Archaic Welsh, the Greek termination *os* being often added to Celtic adjectives.

## E.

E is frequently expressed in Celtic inscriptions by H, *i.e.*, the Greek eta; sometimes by Y, and sometimes by O; and again even by V. In all cases it expresses the positive article "the." The O had not the sense of *of* in Irish words till about the seventeenth century. The next consonant after the E seems frequently doubled, as EPPILLVS, EPPENOS, etc.

EBULILIM. This name, given by Mionnet, Conbrouse, and Akerman, implies "king of the Eburones." Lelewel gives,

p. 247, the form of the derivation, viz., *Ebur-pilil, Ebulilil, i.e., illil* for *rix.*

EBUROVICOM (p. 38). *Eburovices-commios.* The COMMIOS or leader of the confederation of the Eburovices.

ENG, in composition, implies intenseness, from *engir.* Richards, "dire," Welsh.

EPPENOS (p. 11). *Ep-pen-os, i.e.,* "hereditary prince."

EPPILLUS (p. 11). *Ep-pilla-os, i.e.,* "hereditary king."

ERATOS, or as it is written always on coins HRATOS. This occurs on a coin of the Viducasses of Armorica, and on another coin of Gallia Lugdunensis, inscribed HRATO ATEPILOS (see Lelewel, p. 223), as also on a second coin of the Viducasses inscribed ERATOS VDICAS. (*Ibid.*, p. 248.) There is no doubt that in all cases it is Greek, and is to be considered the same word as Αἱρετὸς, signifying elected, *i.e.*, "the elected chief." Duchalais, pp. 188, 284, would read STRATOS for HRATOS.

F.

FEAR, a *man.* Irish. *Edward Lhuyd.* Fĕar, a sign or token. *O'Reilly.* Fear, a man, a husband, in Scotch-Gaelic, *Armstrong* and *Shaw. Gwr,* a man, a husband. *Owen Pughe,* in Welsh. *Vir,* a man, a husband. Latin.

FIRBOLG. *Fear-bolg, i.e.,* the Belgic people or race. See O'Brien's *Dictionary,* and numerous authorities.

FOMORIANS (p. 65). *Fear-o-muir.* Men connected with the sea.

G.

GENOS, a Greek word adopted into proper names by the Gauls to signify "race," as "Camulogenos." Cæsar's *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars,* viii, 57, *i.e.,* "of the race of Mars."

GNAT, in Gaelic, *gneat,* accustomed to; apparently the same as the modern British word *gnawd* of the same sense. It has nothing to do with the Latin word *natus* (born), as Lelewel, p. 246, supposes; and Boduognatus, the name of a chief, as in Cæsar's *Commentaries,* is not Buddig-nat, or the "child of victory," as he has it, but *Boduoc-nat, i.e., gnawd,* meaning, "a chief accustomed to victory." Firgneat appears to have been the name of those who were considered aborigines in Ireland. See O'Connor's *Chronicles of Eri,* vol. ii, p. 12.

Go, *to*, Welsh, still in use. We have it in the phrase "Erin-go-bra," literally, "Ireland *to* ever," for "for ever." It occurs also in the monetary inscription in VERCOBRETO, which, correctly written, "would be man to the law," *i.e.*, for the law.

## H.

HIR, Welsh, *Owen Pughe.* "Hy-ir, in progress to something that shall be renewed, *i.e.*, remembered." He says it means long, prolix, tedious, dilatory. When in composition with *aeth*, pain or grief; in the word *hiraeth* it means earnest desire or expectation. Villemarqué has *hir* in the Armorican as long, in the sense of expressing length, but gives various compounds of it as expressing duration of time. The Gaelic of Scotland has not the word *hir* in its vocabulary, nor has the Gaelic of Ireland. It is, I think, quite consistent with the genius of the Celtic language to render in any dialect, ATHIRIM, as in the sense of "in commemoration of."

## I.

ILLIL only occurs in composition, and is equivalent to REX or RIX. For example, we have in AMBILLIL an *alias* for AMBIORIX. The merit of this really curious and singular discovery lies, if I am informed rightly, between M. Lelewel and M. de Saulcy. At least they first took up their positions on the point. It was attacked and nearly overturned by various persons. In particular, by M. Duchalais in his *Médailles de la Bibliothèque Impériale.* The Marquis de Lagoy finally set the matter right in his *Essai de Monographie*, 4to, 1847, pp. 17-19, and *Supplement* to ditto, 1856, pp. 5-6, though without any reference to the controversy on the subject. This word is supposed to have been one that was manufactured by the Gauls themselves, and that the proper form of it should be EPPILLIL, but that from familiar use and the frequent occurrence of the word they came at length to leave out the first syllable, particularly in composition. The meaning of EPPILLIL is prince, king, or chief of the dynasty.

The title *Eppillil*, or "hereditary prince," in its contracted

form, *illil*, enters into the composition of a variety of names. For instance, the name CARVILLIUS, in Cæsar's *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars*, v, c. 22, etymologically considered, is *Guayr-illil, i.e.*, "the nobleman," or rather, *representative of the nobles*, and "hereditary king." The COILLUS of the *Chronicles*, a British king of the third century, is etymologically also "the priest," or rather, we should say, the "Pontifex Maximus and king." We have likewise one remarkable instance of the titular distinction *Eppillus* being compounded in a contracted form in the name of the king of the Tectosages, KOPILL, mentioned by Plutarch in his *Life of Sylla, i.e.*, the same as *Coillus*, or "the priest and hereditary king," the *Cos-eppillus* in fact.

IMANUENTIUS. The name of a British king in Cæsar's *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars*, v, c. 20. He is there described in a way which shews him to have been the Llud of the ancient *British Chronicles*. The name is to be explained, *Y-man-dw-eng*, with the Latin termination *us* subjoined: *i.e.*, "the dread (tutelary) divinity of the country"; the British king, in this case, taking the appellation of a divinity generally, and not the name of any one in particular. *Man*, in ancient British language, signified "country"; and *dw*, as before explained, "a divinity." *Eng* we have just had.

IN, in composition, denotes dire, dread, awe-inspiring, and the like. See *Eng*.

INDUTILLIL (p. 57). *Eng-dwti(os)-illil*. The same as *Indutiomar*, with the word *illil* substituted, implying king: which see before. This occurs as an inscription on a coin; and there are sufficient reasons for supposing that the Gaulish chief here named was a different person from the Indutiomar of Cæsar. See this subject discussed at the former page, 57.

INDUTIOMAR (p. 57). *Eng-dwti(os)-mawr*, with *rex* understood, implying "the awe-inspiring, divine king."

## K.

KABRIABANTUI, *i.e., Kabri-a-Bantui*. An inscription of a tile found at Plaxtol in Kent, in the year 1858. It appears to be the stamp of two persons engaged in tile-making. The etymology, as given above, implies "the mark of Kabrus and Bantuus."

## L.

LAOS. A Greek word adopted by the Gauls and others, and amalgamated with proper names in the signification of race, as has been before noticed.

## M.

MAN. An ancient British word in the sense of "country." It is Belgico-British, as it occurs on the Continent in several names, as in *Germania* and others. In England it occurs in *Mancunium*, *Manduessedum*, and *Manau*; and may be interpreted, in every case, to imply a country or district. It has a more confined sense in modern Welsh, in the form *mann*, in which it signifies a "place" merely; but the identity of the ancient and modern forms seems plain enough. See the names *Imanuentius* and *Mandubratius*.

MANDUBRATIUS. The name given to Timancius in Cæsar's *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars*, v, c. 20; the etymology of which is *Man-dw-vragh, i.e.*, "the divine king of the land."

MAR, VER, and MAGOL, all Celtic, and signifying "great," were archaic terms, and are now replaced by *mawr*, *vawr*, and *magol*. MAWR we find at the end of INDUTIOMAR. We have MAGOL in MAGLOCUNE, in *Gildas;* while *Venantius Fortunatus* is our Priscian to tell us of the force of *ver* in composition, in those two lines of his:

> "Nomine Vernometum voluit vocitare vetustas
> Quod quasi fanum ingens Gallica lingua vocat."

MÔR, the sea, seems to have been the usually prevailing archaic Celtic term. The modern forms of the word are: *mór*, Armorican (Villemarqué); *mour* in Cornish; *môr* in Welsh; *muir* in Gaelic, and ditto in the Gaelic of Scotland.

MORITASGUS (p. 7). *Môr-y-tasg-os*, imperator or ruler of the sea. A Celtic name for Neptune, and also the appellation of a Gaulish chief mentioned by Cæsar (*Gaulish Wars*, v, c. 54).

## N.

NEMET, a temple (archaic Celtic), occurs inscribed as a legend on Gaulish moneys. Why not? since I have no doubt that among us medals and tokens might be produced which have the representations of St. Paul's cathedral at

London, accompanied with the name, upon them. The word still remains in Armorican, in the form NAOMH; but is not to be met with in the Welsh. Its ancient signification as "temple," is indicated in the couplet from *Venantius Fortunatus* just above quoted.

NEMETES (p. 65), or otherwise NEMETÆ, formed the names of tribes in Ireland and Gaul; and this term so obviously means "temple-worshippers," in contradistinction to those who worshipped in Druidical circles, as has been before observed, that it would be but mere waste of words to say more on the subject. The idolatry of Greece and Rome gradually supplanted Druidism, till both were supplanted by Christianity.

NEMETOTACIO, *i.e.*, *Nemet-o-tascio*, in the sense of "royal temple." It is a word which occurs in the *Chorography of Ravennas.*

## O.

O is the definite article *the* in Celtic, and is so in Welsh, as noted by Owen Pughe, but singularly enough this signification is entirely omitted by Richards, from which it may be inferred, that the fact is not very obvious to all moderns. I have pointed out before how the O is varied to H (eta), Y, and even to V. It is inserted in the middle of almost innumerable Celtic names, as will be found in *Ravennas*, where it usually separates an adjective from a substantive, as Nemet-o-tacio, *i.e.*, the Royal Temple, as has just before been explained; or two substantives. It occurs also in the name Ambiorix, in Cæsar's *Commentaries* (*Gaulish Wars*, v. 22,) which name implies, "the King of the Ambiani."

OLLOUDIOS was a Celtic epithet of Mars, as expressed in the inscription recorded in Spon's *Miscellanea*, p. 97, VIGILIA METIA MASSÆ FILIA MARTI OLLOVDIO. The meaning of the term is, "Mars the prosperous;" OLLOUDIOS being an adjective formed from *llwyd*, "prosperity," with the Greek termination os added, and with OLL, implying intenseness, prefixed. In English we should say, "Mars the all prosperous."

OMAOS, a legend on a coin of the Remi, a people of Gallia Belgica, *see Duchalais*, p. 223. The type resembles somewhat nearly those coins inscribed *Atisios Remos*, and the meaning of it is pretty clear. This inscription would be in

modern, or rather medieval Welsh, *O-maon*, i.e., "the client retainer or deputy." *Omaos* is only the more archaic form; indeed the term is very similar to the legend AMBACTUS, which see: except that the word "native" is left out, which is there expressed. We may conclude that the coin was struck by some subordinate or provincial governor among the Remi.

OSSUTICOS, p. 8, *O-suticos*, "the Magistrate," the etymology of which will be seen under SVTICOS.

## P.

PEDWAR, four Welsh, *pewar* Armorican, occurs in Celtic monetary inscriptions, as in that of PETRVCORI, which implies the votaries accustomed to square temples, and indicates those who adopted the worship of Greece and Rome instead of Druidism. Indeed a whole tribe in Gaul was so named; the Nemetes who were situated in Gallia Belgica on the Rhine.

PRASVTAGUS, see VREISUTAGUS.

PROVERTUIS. The name of a person, apparently a Briton, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii., 8, as being in office under the Romans in the year 368. The correct reading should be, BROVERATUIS, under which form the explanation becomes very easy. It is scarcely mistakable that the etymology is *Bro-guiredil-a-twos*, i.e., "the District Justiciary and Chief." Thus the Romans thought to disguise the power which in some form or other they were obliged to give to the native princes of ancient Britain.

PWL; this word occurs in some old chronicles (see Roberts, *Tysilio*, pp. 257, 258), though indeed not on coins. However, I mention it as it has been supposed needlessly to be something abstruse, and indeed it has even been thought by some to refer to Apulia, *see Roberts* again, p. 258. On consideration, I can only view it as an incorrect form of the word *Bolg*, i.e., "Belgic," which is found sometimes variously expressed.

## Q.

This letter is not known in Welsh or in other dialects of the ancient Celtic, but is introduced nevertheless, though rather rarely, in Celtic monetary inscriptions, as in the

reading of a British coin, QVANGETH, i.e., *Quanges* or otherwise Cangi. It also appears on the Gaulish type, Q. DOCI SAMI.

R.

REGNUM, a part of Britain, was so called, as Sussex, Surrey, etc., the only instance perhaps known in the ancient Roman empire of a province being so styled. The inhabitants are called Regni by Ptolemy, and by the certainly unusual name of Regentes by *Ravennas*; as he has "Noviomagus Regentium." There is no doubt that it had been called a "RAIGNAWD" or kingdom before the Romans came, from the coins inscribed VIRI. REX, etc. Even an idea may be entertained that RA, part of the word raignawd, is of actual occurrence on an ancient British coin. See *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 235-6.

REN, RHAIN or RHON, a spear, Welsh and Armorican, used as a term of rank, as CYNREN, i.e., first spear; in the same way as "primipilaris" among the Romans.

REX, RIX, REIXS, etc., etc. Archaic Celtic of every dialect. It has been sufficiently shewn, that this title did not interfere with democratic government among the Gauls.

S.

SEGONAX, a Britanno-Belgic chief, mentioned by Cæsar. The name is Belgico-British, and the etymology of it is *Segont acht, i.e.*, "the superintendent or governor of the Segontiaci."

SELISUC, or according to some, SELISIC, or GELISUC, see *Duchalais*, p. 232. This is a legend of a coin of Gallia Belgica, and is without doubt of the mythological class, since it has upon it a figure with wings for arms, and a somewhat close resemblance to the one on a Gaulish coin, and recognized by M. de la Saussaye, in an excellent dissertation in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1842, p. 165, as that of the Druid Abaris, mentioned by Hecatæus. The etymology is thus, *Sel-y-suc*, or, as it might be nearly in modern Welsh, *Seliad-y-soccyn, i.e.*, "the arch boy, urchin or sprite." It would appear from this etymology, that the figure here represented was of the nature of the numerous sprites worshipped by the Celts, under Druidical sanction, as *Nedic Nar* mentioned in the *Gododin*, stanza 62, and others similar.

SENANI, a Latino-celtic name for Druids, occurs in the

boatmen's dedication found at Nôtre Dame, at Paris. See *Montfaucon*, ii. p. 424, and *Academy of Inscriptions* for 1717, p. 111.

SOLIDUNUM, p. 70. *Suli* and *dunum*, the city of Bath.

SEGEINT or SEGONT, *i.e.*, Segontium or Silchester. There is every reason to believe that the name of this city, which was founded by the Belgian Gauls, is expressed in the Belgico-British dialect of the ancient inhabitants of the country, and that the Teutonic word *sige* or victory, is introduced into it, and that the whole implies "the City of Victory." Similarly there was a city named Victoria in Scotland.

SULI MINERVA, is an epithet of Minerva, supposed to mean "great." There was a temple to her at Bath. The name of the goddess Solmariaca, in Gaul, appears to be formed on the same principles, and possibly the divinities might have been the same.

SVTICOS, p. 8, Swyddog, a magistrate. Welsh.

## T.

T. Lelewel, p. 247, appears to suppose that this letter with an apostrophe, expressed a Celtic definite article before a vowel: but ostensibly without authority.

TASGETIVS, pp. 7, 25. A name mentioned by Julius Cæsar in his *Commentaries* (*Gaulish Wars*), v. 25. The etymology is Tasg-y-tws, and it implies "Commander in war," and "Ruler" and "Chief" besides.

TAXIMAGULUS (p. 25). *Tascio-magol, i.e.*, "Commander-in-chief."

TIMANCIUS, or otherwise TEMANCIUS, but TIMAN, in the *Angora inscription*. See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 68.

Some particulars have already been given under the head of Adminius, of this ancient British king, who was the father of Cunobeline, to which a reference may again be made. The ancient British Chronicles describe him as a strict observer of justice, which I think we may best understand as implying that he was eminent as a legislator. Everything that we know of this said Timancius favours the idea of his law-giving celebrity. It is true that he lived in a country then but imperfectly civilized, but it must be remembered that Numa Pompilius, Draco and Solon, lived in semi-barbarous times, which times their legal institutions were intended to ameliorate.

I likewise should not omit to mention another singular statement respecting this monarch, in the Roman poet Propertius, for to him and to his reign I think it most indubitably applies, namely: that he kept a fleet of armed vessels at sea in the British Channel, with which he defended his coasts against the Roman provincial naval forces of Gaul. Let those deny this who can.—The passage in Propertius is thus:

> Seu pedibus Parthos sequimur seu classe Britannos."
> *Elegies*, book ii, xx, 63.

In English, "Whether we pursue the Parthians by land, or the Britons with our fleet." I, for one, cannot but be much struck with the extreme coincidence of all the relative circumstances: for the British Chronicles speak of him as a warlike man, as well as a strict administrator of justice; and Horace speaks of unsettled affairs between Britain and Rome, in his time: and lastly, the general date of the *Elegies* of Propertius, in which the passage occurs, is the year of Rome 730, which corresponds with the year B.C. 24, down to which time all accounts agree that Timancius occupied the British throne; but the particular event referred to by Propertius seems best placed in the year B.C. 27.

The amount he achieved was this, that he showed an independent attitude for his country in the face of the conquerors of the world: and that his resistance was for the time successful, would rather appear from *Epode*, vii, 1, of Horace, wherein occur the lines:

> "Intactus Britannus ut descenderet
> Sacrâ catenatus viâ.

In English, "That the before-unsubdued Briton, should be led in chains in triumph along the Sacred Way." Horace writes this thirty years afterwards, or about the year of our æra, 6. I say *rather*, for the learned appear to understand that Horace was speaking of the Britons of his day, but from reading the verses which precede, the context might favour the idea that he might possibly allude to the British captives, paraded about in chains by Julius Cæsar, on returning from his second expedition many years before.

An idea is very naturally brought to our minds by the passage in Propertius, backed by the mention of Timancius, in the British Chronicles, that civilization was more advanced

in Britain in his day than is usually supposed: also, that Timancius was to his son and successor, Cunobeline, what Philip the second of Macedonia was to Alexander the Great, namely, the establisher of the basis of his power, and the preparer of a military force for his use. The dominions of Timancius at the time of which Propertius speaks, are supposed to have been the same as those which were afterwards held by Cunobeline. The name of Timancius appears clearly enough on the inscription at Angora, in the line containing the names of the British kings who made their submission to Augustus. The three names are—Dumno, Bellaunos, and Timan. It seems most probable that the first of these was the Dumno, whose name appears on various of the coins of the Brigantes, still extant, while the second, Bellaunos, may be regarded to have been the father and predecessor of Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, and Timan would have been our Timancius, King of the Southern States. Strabo, in his *Geography*, in his Book iv, gives us to understand that the whole island had been brought into submission and alliance with Augustus, which best agrees with the assignment of the names of the kings and of their territories I have given as above. The period alluded to by the Angora inscription, was no doubt that when the British kings and chiefs made their submission to Augustus in Gaul. See the *History* of Dion Cassius, liii, 22, and Horace iii, *Odes*, v, 3. The date of the submission of the British kings was B.C. 26: being the same year, as we may understand from Dion Cassius, as that in which the revolt of the Salassii, a people of Gallia Transpadana, took place. (See again his *History*, liii, 25.)

Regarding the etymology of the name Timancius. It stands in the Gaelic of Ireland, as "Dhe mandh," *i.e.*, the "Sacred Mouth," alluding apparently to the law-sentences he was accustomed to utter, admitting, of course, that the chronicle account of him is true; and admitting also that the same etymology of the name now found only in the Irish dialect of the Celtic, once stood in the Welsh or ancient British dialect of the same language.

TRICCOS, p. 9, *Tre-cos*, or the "Priest of the City," *i.e.* the "Metropolitan."

TRICORII, a people of Gallia Lugdunensis, adjoining the Voconces; named, if we understand the etymology of their

name rightly, from three temples of note which stood within their territory. See *Cor*, as before explained.

TRIGES. Dwellers. Occurs on the Icenian coin IC DURO T(RIGES). At least so it is read. It occurs also as well in Ptolemy's *Geography*. Its derivation is from the known Welsh word *Trigo*, to dwell.

TVOS, is in the sense of chief or leader, and occurs on Gaulish coins, as has been duly noticed. It is the same word as the present Welsh word *tywys*.

U.

UCH. A genuine Celtic word, with the sense of *high*. However, neither Owen Pughe, Shaw, Armstrong, nor Macleod and Dewar, have it in its simple form as *Uch*, but varied, as *uchdal*, *uchel*, etc. Villemarqué alone gives the original word *uch* in the Armorican, though he says it is but little in use.

V.

VDICOM. M. Lelewel is in most evident error when he considers, in his pp. 238 and 314, this word as identical with ANDECOM. In that case it would apply to the *Andecavi*, a people of Gaul, while, on the contrary, it in reality refers to the *Viducasses*, another Gaulish state instead, as the more manifestly appears from the legend of the coin he cites at his page 248 of ERATOS UDICAS, with which the name *Viducasses* may be regarded as mixed up. It is indeed to be viewed as supplying an additional instance in the Gaulish coinage of the word COMMIOS as connected with the name of a Celtic state; and the full legend is VDICOMMIOS, or, "the *Commios* or *Confederacy* of the Viducasses."

VELLAUNOS. In every case in which this word occurs in the ancient British coinage, and whatever may be the prefix, whether *Cassi*, *Dubno*, or any other that may be discovered, the meaning is, and ever will be found to be, the same, namely, that of *Belinus* or *Apollo*. It was, in fact, a word convertible, as the phrase is, with *Belinus;* and there is even reason to suppose, from a variation of the name of CUNOBELINE, in the form of Cynvelyn, which is found in the ancient *British Chronicles*, that the name of *Cunobeline* might sometimes have been expressed as CUNOVELLAUNOS. The word *Bellaunos* occurs, as has been before noticed, as a

proper name on the *Inscription at Ancyra*, in Asia Minor, still remaining on the ruins of a temple there dedicated to Rome and Augustus, commemorating the acts of that emperor, on which there is some small part relating to Britain. See the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 63-75, and pp. 196-198. The inscription is given at length in the work above referred to in regard to all that is connected with the portion relating to this island, and the original reading is supplied as far as its present dilapidated state permits. See also the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1847, pp. 29-34.

VER, high, great. See before under *mawr*. It is the same as our modern word *vawr*, as in the Welsh of the present day.

VERCINGETORIX (p. 7.) *Ver-cyn-y-tws-(a)-rix*, *i.e.*, the high king paramount and commander.

VERCOBRET (p. 11.) *Fear, go, breith*, *i.e.*, man appointed to administer justice. See before, p. 113.

VERICUS, p. 43. *Ver-rix*, high king, or king paramount. This name is convertible with BERICUS, in which form it is found in *Dion Cassius*.

VIRIDOMARUS, a chief of the Ædui, mentioned by Cæsar, *Gaulish Wars*, vii, 38, 40, 54, 63. This name affords a further exemplification, and is *Guiredd-o-mawr*, *i.e.*, "the great justiciary," or "functionary;" a title bestowed by Cæsar, who raised him to the dignity, as less likely to excite ambitious ideas than that of REX. The Ædui themselves appear to have given titles with this view, as their chief officer was styled VERCOBRETVS, or "principal magistrate."

VIRIODUNUM (p. 42.) *Guiredd-o-dunum*, "Justice city," *i.e.*, place in which law trials were held. The legends VIR and VIRI on ancient British coins stand, in all probability, for a place of this name. Hence, also, presumably, we have VERULAM, *i.e.*, *Quiredd-(y)-llain*, or "Justice city," literally, "*inclosure*," that is "circumvallation;" and observe, the *Vir* in these names is occasionally varied to *Ver*, as in *Verocinium*, and some other words.

VLATOS. The same, in a Greek form, as VLAT, *i.e.*, Mars, see *Ateula*.

VOCARANT VOCARANT. The coin inscribed in this strange form, which is given in *Lelewel*, p. 259, and plate vi, 3, is now known to read correctly, VOCARAN: VOCARANA. See

*Duchalais*, p. 192, and is classed among the uncertain coins of Gallia Lugdunensis; and in its full development would probably read VOCARANA(IOS) or the "chief of Vocarana," which, accordingly, would be a town to be sought for in the province of Gaul just specified; though it very likely may be unmentioned in all ancient geographical works.

VOCORI. An ancient British Coin thus inscribed, and found near Worcester, is in the possession of Joseph Mayer, Esq., of Liverpool. See *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan. 1860, p. 51.) The etymology is *U(ch)-o-Cori, i.e.*, "the Greater Coritani," which would appear to have been so expressed to distinguish the more civilized clans of this state from their wilder neighbours to the west. (See before under Catyeuchlani.)

VREIS. Another Celtic name for Mars. It appears to be derived from *braichiauch*, otherwise *vraichiauch, i.e.*, "strong in the arms"; and the modern name of RHYS is probably taken from it. (See *Coins of Cunob.*, pp. 212, 265.)

VREISUTAGUS (p. 35.) *Vreis-y-tagos, i.e.*, "Mars the chief." The same as Prasutagus.

VULC, or VOLC, in the sense of one of the people, occurs in the name Cativolcus, and is Belgico-Celtic.

## REMARKS.

No explanations are attempted in the foregoing glossary either of the words themselves or any elementary parts of them, which are found on the British coins which are termed coins of the Brigantes. I have before alluded to these, that their obscurity is extremely forbidding: and these inscriptions are so little connected with history or literature, that nothing certain can be ascertained respecting them; which is the more to be regretted, as otherwise the coins are rather numerous, and nearly always are tolerably well preserved. Caution, however, should be attended to, these types being so extremely frequently forged. The principal inscriptions seem best to be given thus: (1), DVMNOCOVEPOS; *rev.*, VOSILIOS, or VOSIMOS, the reading being uncertain: (2), DVMNOCOVEI; *rev.* somewhat obliterated, but apparently intended to be the same as that of the preceding coin: (3), CORF: (4), VEP. CORF., both being inserted: (5), TIGIION; *rev.*, VMI.: (6), ASVP. AS(VP), the name being repeated apparently: (7), VOSI.

# ADDENDA.

## MISCELLANEA.

THERE is required for coins and inscriptions almost a legal proof to verify them; a remark that applies equally to the materials collected in these pages, which are a mixture of both, being inscriptions on coins. It is scarcely right to require persons to believe and receive facts, unless you plainly display the basis on which they are founded; and so, indeed, you will enable them best to understand your reasonings. I am not able to supply, *ad libitum*, further amplifications on all points, nor would space permit it. A few additional particulars I can supply here and there, which will serve to fill up and to elucidate some of the descriptions which I have given, or which may be otherwise collaterally or incidentally connected with the subject of these pages, and so prove both of interest and use. I say thus much by way of preface to the desultory matters which I now enter upon; by which the reader will be apprized that they are strictly miscellaneous.

### CORITANI.

A specimen of the coin inscribed CORI in the British Museum, makes the application of the type to the Iceni very plain and clear; for it has on the reverse the two crescents, back to back, which are the so well known symbol of that nation.

### ATT.

This legend has been attributed to the Atrebates. (See before, p. 45, and the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 120.) However, on examining a specimen in the British Museum, there is the evident appearance of a fragment of the bottom part of a small portion of another letter before the A; somewhat resembling the lower finish of a K, or some other character; so as to render it extremely probable that the legend was originally different from what it now is.

### BODUOC.

This name occurs on a British coin, of which there are three types extant; and there is no doubt whatever that the meaning of the word is "Victory." It likewise, as "BODUOC," was a man's name, like "Victor" in Latin, and is found inscribed on a monumental stone near Margam, in South Wales, where a species of genealogy is given of him as the son of Catotis Irni, and the grandson of Eternalius Vedomaus. (See *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1859, pp. 287-292.) Of course there could be no connexion whatever between this Boduoc of South Wales, and the coin inscribed BODVOC, which has been judged to refer to Welsh history, and to apply to the times of Caractacus. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 120-1, 179, 217.)

### BRITISH COIN INSCRIBED TINC.

The first British coins of this type, which were discovered no earlier than about the year 1837, bare no more than the inscription TIN. Afterwards, at a very brief interval, a further prolongation of it, in the legend TINC, came to light, and since, a coin has been acquired by the British Museum, the reading of which is TINCON, which is the furthest progression at present. Some numismatists, on this reading being discovered, have been inclined to consider the name as personal. It would seem, however, more corresponding with usual rules to refer it to the class of Verulamium, Camulodunum, and Segontium, and for it to be, like them, a local name. A very similar type to the fine coin inscribed TINC, formerly Mr. Hughes' (see p. 48 *ante*), is now in the collection of the British Museum.

### CARAUSIUS.

The coins of this former ruler of our island, though British, are not Celtic-British. There must have been a strong Celtic element in Britain in the time of Carausius, but he chose to swamp it altogether. He took no Celtic title,—neither REX, TASCIO, nor the Armorican form of EMYR, or any other. The Roman soldiers in his service, perhaps, would not have tolerated it; but he affected to be a part and portion of the Roman empire, to be a joint emperor with the other two then on the throne, Diocletian and Maximian, and to be styled COMES AVGVSTI, and to speak of himself, CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI, and occasion-

ally to insert the abbreviation of his title, AVG, with three G's, as AVGGG, to imply the triple emperorship of the day, which he claimed as existing. He thus became liable, with so narrow a based dominion, to become absorbed again into the mass of the Roman empire; which, indeed, took place in a comparatively short space of time. With Carausius, the Britons must be Romans; and in a profuse coinage, issued during a period of seven years, he never once in reality mentions Britain; for when he inserts B. E., for BRITANNICUS EXERCITUS, he merely attaches the meaning to it of "the Roman army in Britain." Allectus, whose career was less successful, appears to have followed in the same line of policy, and we may conclude that no other at that conjuncture was possible for him. (See *Britannia Antiqua*, pp. 327-8.)

Stukeley's error in his *Coins of Carausius*, in reading one of the reverses of that emperor of FORTVNA AVGVSTI, as ORIVNA AVGVSTI, because a blemish in the metal had removed the F, and that the cross of the T was obliterated, and in his considering that he had thus obtained the name of the empress of Carausius, is one of the most unwarranted mistakes of the kind ever made. We are informed, in Dr. Kennedy's second *Pamphlet* on these coins, 4to, 1756, p. 15, that a type, with the head of Carausius associated on the obverse with the head of Apollo, with a whip, mistaken for a sceptre, was conjectured by some to be this same Oriuna, though Dr. Stukeley himself entertained no such opinion. Strangely enough, Dr. Kennedy, though otherwise an able numismatist, would not read FORTVNA, because, he said, he saw no symbols of that divinity (see his *Pamphlet*, p. 22), but viewed it as a varied name for Diana (see his first *Treatise*, p. 26.)

It is rather believed by most numismatists that Carausius had a colleague in the empire in Allectus, who indeed is styled by *Orosius* "socius suus," and the same term is used by *Eutropius*, which may possibly imply as much. There is likewise, numismatically, some portion of support from the reverse of one of the coins of Carausius inscribed PAX AVGG, for had it meant the two Roman emperors and himself, three G's would have been used, but the two G's, it is argued, mean Carausius, individually, and his colleague.

My mention of the coins of Carausius as above will serve

to distinguish his moneys from all Celtic British ones, and may thus be useful; and I will just add, that the other British coins which come under the same category, are the coins of Allectus, those of Constantine the Tyrant, which, perhaps, are somewhat doubtful, and coins of Magnus Maximus, which are genuine, and some of them, perhaps, might be struck in Britain. To these Speed adds a gold coin of Uther Pendragon, engraved in his *History of England*, p. 315, which in all probability is a forgery.

DVRO.

An Icenian coin engraved in Gibson's *Camden*, plate ii, British coins, fig. 8, represents, as delineated, a rough head of hair on the obverse as a ship, and has on the reverse a horse to the right, and the legend DVRO as above. It may be as well to notice this mistake, as there are no British coins represented with ships. (See pp. 58, 62, 91, 122, *ante*.)

THE SAMENESS OF LEGEND AND DEVICE.

This was only slight and occasional in the Greek coinage, for instance, in the coin of Alexander king of Epirus and uncle of Alexander the Great. Obverse, the head of Hercules enveloped in his lion's skin to the right. Reverse, Jupiter to the left holding out an eagle in his right hand, accompanied with the legend ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟΥ, literally according to the coin-phraseology of the Greeks (see before pp. 26-27) "*of* Alexander." Again, in the coin of Lysimachus, one of Alexander's successors. Obverse, the head of Jupiter Ammon to the left. Reverse, Minerva holding out the image of Victory, with a garland in her right hand, and the inscription ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ, or literally, "*of* Lysimachus," as before. There is but a slight correspondency of legend with device in these two cases, for in the instance of Alexander king of Epirus, the head of Hercules is evidently only ideal, consequently the allusion to the Epirote monarch amounts to next to nothing. In the second instance it seems stronger, as Lysimachus' own effigy appears to be pourtrayed in the representation of that of Jupiter-Ammon. The Grecian coinage, I think, seldom goes further in correspondency of inscription and delineation than this limit.

On the contrary, it is very full and complete in the Roman coinage, as indeed we have even scripture authority. For example, truly enough the head of the reigning emperor

was represented on the obverse, and the superscription said who he was. Further than this, the representations of the images worshipped by the heathen were often inserted on the reverses, accompanied by their names, as Hope, Fortune, Piety, Abundance, Hilarity, Fecundity, and very numerous others. Sometimes the legend forms a comment on the device, as in the coin of Carausius, which has the reverse of a winged Victory, with a garland and palm branch, with the inscription ADIVTRIX AVG.

When we approach the Celtic coinages, whether of Britain or Gaul, we are left in a great deficiency. For when for the obverse of Cunobeline's coins there is inserted a profile of the bust of a heathen divinity, whether of Mars, Jupiter-Ammon, Hercules, Apollo, or any other, they seem to fall under the characteristics of the moneys of Alexander king of Epirus, and to present only ideal heads. At the same time the inscription round the head is CVNOBELINI, or some part of the name. As to the coins of Prasutagus, the king of the Iceni of Britain, there are heads of Mars on many of his coins, which formed part of the hoard found at Weston, in Norfolk, a considerable portion of which is preserved in the British Museum, but the features of those heads seem purely ideal, and besides, but little lettering is to be found. At the same time other coins have been discovered of Prasutagus, inscribed with his Celtic name Vreis, or some variation of it, which have heads on the obverses, and have more the appearance of being portraits. While with regard to the reverses of British coins of every class their inscriptions have no allusion to the delineations, save and except in one case only, where the legend BODVOC of a well known coin may be judged to be explanatory of the accompanying bust of Victory. BODVOC having the sense of victory in the Celtic.

It follows then, from the above observations, that the inscriptions on British coins are to be considered generally as things by themselves, and that for the most part neither the delineations explain the inscriptions, or *vice versâ*. There is, in fact, no sameness in them of legend and device.

### ICENIAN HELMED COINS.

A series of types presenting a head with somewhat of a warlike aspect, and closely enveloped in what appeared to be

almost a mediæval helmet, had long since made its appearance in Stukeley's *plates*. No explanation appeared of them, and they became disregarded by numismatists, and almost reckoned among the creations of Stukeley's fancy. Lately, however, by discoveries in Norfolk and Suffolk, they have been fully verified as coins of the Iceni of Britain. They represent, indeed, the head of Mars, worshipped by the Iceni; and thus Stukeley has been fully vindicated.

### PLUMES OF FEATHERS.

A coin in the British Museum, inscribed CVNO, and representing a horse galloping to the left, appears to display, as an accessory symbol, a diadem with a plume of ostrich feathers; at least, the delineation would seem to show itself as such, as far as, from its small size, an identification of it can be made. There is no impossibility, certainly, that a similar device may have been originally a British ornament. Though the ostrich plumes of Wales, with the motto, "Ich dien," are recorded to have been adopted in the reign of Edward the Third, from John, king of Bohemia, on the faith of our English history.

### SCEPTICISM.

There are some, and among them was the late Lord Macaulay, in his writings, who would declare against the existence of any authentic memorials intervening between the Roman historians and the early Saxon ones, and who would throw even our British coins and Celtic inscriptions into the sea without entertaining a second thought about them. Now, suppose this should be done, we might still claim the privilege of taking them out again from the briny deep, considering them as a species of appendage to the Latin historians, the names of the persons inserted in the inscriptions being, for the most, the same as those who are mentioned in their pages. Again, our inscriptions do not exactly interfere with Lord Macaulay's debateable points, which seem more particularly to be Hengist and Horsa, Vortigern and Rowena, Vortimer, Arthur, Constantine of Armorica, and that class of personages. As for myself, I profess a general belief in the history of the fifth and sixth centuries as regards Britain; but how comes Lord Macaulay's scepticism? It, perhaps, may be only a proper deference to an eminent man to touch upon this

point. In answer, then. He first consulted public taste, or rather public prejudices; according to which, researches into the fifth and sixth century history are considered unpopular, and thus he at once dispensed with all scrutinies of the imperfect memorials which may exist of those times, and all lengthened examinations and collations of monkish chronicles and other obscure writings. This was a task not suited to his usual line of explorations, which lay more in the State Paper Office, and among documents of a different class. However, to cut short the matter, there is no doubt but that he took advantage of Kemble's example, and followed in his wake. It was, without doubt, Kemble that he followed rather than Hume; for the latter has been accustomed to be considered, for the last quarter of a century, of but little authority, or rather not the best authority.

### BRITISH COINS WITH PALM BRANCHES.

These form an interesting portion of the coins of Cunobeline, and of his sons, and I believe are invariably taken from coins of Augustus, as they do not seem to occur, or but rarely so, in the types of Tiberius. The palm branch is represented as spread out longitudinally either above the horse or underneath it. They are delineated of large dimensions comparatively with the size of the coin, and so form an expressive ornament.

### FORGERIES.

It was about twenty years ago that a public-spirited individual, Mr. Pretty, F.S.A., then of Northampton, and now curator of the Museum, Maidstone, applied himself very perseveringly to stem the tide of forgery prevailing at that time as now, and thus used his best endeavours to protect the interests of research and science, particularly numismatic science, to which last his efforts were the most directed. As might be expected, he met with but little support; and those who should have been his abettors, were only lookers-on. He was soon, therefore, obliged to slacken his exertions for the common good, and but little was effected. The insight, however, obtained into the doings of the forging craft, and the system pursued, supplied details both curious and very remarkable, and if published would, no doubt, excite much interest; and the remark may indeed

be made, that the public is left more in the dark on this subject of forgery than any other. No Horace Mayhew traces its sinuosities; literary societies decline the topic; and periodicals keep it out of their pages; and thus the literary public is left fair game, or rather a prostrate prey, to the forging crew; and Englishmen are winning a reputation of being exceedingly great dupes to forgers, both at home and abroad.

In this state of things, it is perhaps some satisfaction that the public spirit, which certainly slumbers in England, is revived in France. M. Didron (ainé) is publishing a series of papers in his *Annales Archæologiques*, entitled, *La Contrefaçon archæologique;* or, as we should say in our English phrase, "On Archæological Forgery." He appears to go fearlessly to work in these papers, and gives the subject that notoriety which is so much required in this country. His efforts should be extolled, as having the tendency of producing a proper caution, and an awakened tone of feeling on this topic on the continent, which ultimately, perhaps, may extend to ourselves in England. (See also some good remarks on the subject in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1860, p. 170.)

Forgery, as many may be aware, is capable of assuming various Protean forms; and it may sometimes happen, that when a numismatist would deal summarily with an obviously gross counterfeit, he may find himself met by a string of some half a dozen vouchers in its favour, all of which seem given in good faith, and incline him to distrust his own judgment. Added to which, the coin, perhaps, may find admittance into the pages of some respectable publication. A word or two on this. I conclude it arises from the circumstance that not only much tact, talent, and skill is called into exercise in the fabrication of a forged type, but also in the contrivance of a deceptive juggle, by which a show of evidence in its favour is produced with much apparent plausibility. I am of opinion that this may be done by the forging, at the same time, of an inferior duplicate, which is passed from hand to hand till the choicer specimen is brought forward and substituted for it. If I might recommend, a numismatist should make up his mind to be influenced by no evidence in the case of an obviously gross forgery. For instance, I mean that a numismatist

should not allow himself to suppose that any evidence can be in reality authentic which would go the length of verifying a gold Saxon coin, or one of the earlier Norman kings, in the same metal, or any similar numismatic monstrosities. A juggle, I may observe, is easily contrived to mystify people's minds, and to cause them to give incorrect testimony in matters in which it may be they are so little versed.

It is not that there is an actual impossibility that the Anglo-Saxons struck gold coins; but as there are, for two hundred years, no instances authentically supported, it becomes many hundreds to one, in the scale of chances, against the genuineness of any single alleged specimen which may be brought forward in our days.

### PALM-TREES ON CELTIC COINS.

These appear in Britain on a few uninscribed coins of the Southern Belgæ; and in Gaul, on the coins of the Morini and Remi, especially the former. It was not a common device on the coins of Augustus; they therefore, probably, might have all been taken from the reverse of some one of his coins which had this tree well expressed; as that in *King's Coins*, plate x, 64, with the letters L.A. in the field, or some other well-executed type.

### BRITISH COINS INSCRIBED VREIS BOD, TASCIA.

These coins, unknown to Ruding, Pegge, Stukeley, and our ancient numismatists, and to those of the present day, until quite lately, are now becoming comparatively numerous. They are in bronze; and the following are the results of the examination of two of them now in the British Museum, made not long since. They appear to have been the two used by M. Evans in his remarks on these coins.

The first has for the obverse the usual Icenian symbols with the word VER for *Vreis*, above them; and underneath the word BOD for *Boduoc*, and the reverse presents a horseman with a spear couched low down, and passing slowly forward to the left. Above the horse is the legend TASCIA. The second coin presents again the Icenian symbols for the obverse, with the word VRE, not VER this time, which is more correct; the latter legend having been apparently inserted by a blunder for it. An unmounted horse gradient, as the

numismatic phrase is, or slowly passing to the left, is delineated on the reverse, with the legend TASCIA as before. This last coin, it will be seen, is of a similar type and legend, though not from the same die, with the one engraved in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 209, to which place the reader is referred for further particulars; as also to the present work, pp. 91, 92. These types of VREIS BOD TASCIA are the more worthy of attention as they are among the few by which the British coinage is made comprehensible, which otherwise would be rendered a mass of confusion in perpetuity.

The interpretation of these Icenian coins, as noted at a former page, is Vreis the Victorious; that is, Prasutagus, under the name of Mars (see before, pp. 35, 124), the *tasciovanus*, or "Commander-in-Chief." On the strength of this coin inscription, which, by the way, is supported by various other cogent considerations, I am induced confidently to affirm that the Celtic word TASCIOVANVS is, on every occasion of its occurrence, of a titular signification, and never is a personal name.

### CUNOBELINE'S DIE-SINKERS IN BRITAIN.

We are informed, among some of the stranger narratives which are handed down to us by history, that the class of men who prepared the dies and struck the moneys of the Roman coinage (the *monetarii*) were so numerous in the Roman armies, that in the time of Aurelian, one of the later emperors, they raised a formidable sedition in behalf of some claims and pretensions they advanced, and even drew themselves out in military array on the field against their companions in arms. (See Aurelius Victor *De Cæsaribus*, 35, and Vopiscus, *Aurelian*, 38.) I merely mention this to show that they formed a very large body of men, and that their numbers must have made artists of this description always obtainable in Britain. Thus, the Southern Belgæ of Britain, who began to coin about forty years before Christ, and are believed to have been the first who coined in the Roman style in Britain, might have obtained persons skilled in the moneying art from the Roman troops in Gaul or Belgium. Thus, Cunobeline, who coined at about the interval of a quarter of a century after the Southern Belgæ, might have procured his artists from the armies of Drusus or

Germanicus on the opposite continent; while Vericus, who coined still later, might have done so from the army of Caligula in his Belgic expedition. The most reasonable opinion is, as has been stated at a former page, that Cunobeline adopted a classical coinage to oppose the Druids, from whose thraldom he wished to emancipate himself, as also to accustom his people to the divinities of Greece and Rome. I think, then, that Cunobeline pursued a regular design in his coinage, and that his substituting devices on his monies, connected with classical mythology, instead of representations of a druidical description, was his own intention, and did not depend, as some have rather supposed, on the caprice of a Roman artist whom he employed.

### THE GREEK ELEMENT IN CELTIC COIN INSCRIPTIONS.

Julius Cæsar says of the Gauls, in his *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars* (vi, 14), that the Gauls used Greek letters. We, nevertheless, find that the majority of inscriptions on Gaulish coins are in Roman letters; and the contrary certainly forms the exception. The state of the case is, in fact, this: Greek letters make their appearance rather rarely on Gaulish coins, except on those of the south of France. In the latter case, not only Greek letters, but Greek words, or naturalised Greek words, and names of Hellenistic origin, chiefly compose the legends of the coins of Gallia Narbonensis; so that Greek is an essential requisite for explaining them. This cannot be wondered at, as Marseilles was originally a Greek colony, and the speech of the first settlers was not quite worn out at the coining period.

If we transfer our considerations to Britain, we shall find but few traces of Greek characters on ancient British coins. The great object in this island appears to have been to romanize their dialect of the Celtic, and in that way to compliment the rulers of Rome. Notwithstanding, a legend or two of Cunobeline's are in Greek characters. Further than this, we have only a few instances, when, after Cunobeline's death, his son Caractacus, apparently to oppose Rome, with which he was then at war, has two or three legends in Greek letters, which have been noticed in their places. It has been necessary to notice these particulars duly to inform the student; or otherwise the remark might be made, what have Greek characters to do with the Celtic language?

### CAMDEN'S COIN INSCRIBED COM REX.

Camden engraved, in his plates of British coins in his *Britannia*, a coin with this legend. It is represented to be in gold. Obverse, a horseman to the right poising a spear in his right hand, and beneath the horse the word REX; reverse, the word COM(F) across the coin, and no device. It may be shortly said of it, that there is no such coin, but that Camden, evidently by mistake, engraved for it a coin now well known with the legend VIR REX. See it represented in Akerman's *Coins of Cities and Princes*, pl. xxii. fig. 1. He overlooked the VIR of the obverse, which might have been much obliterated, and is usually rather indistinct, and which is placed over, and somewhat behind, the horse; while he equally omitted the F of the COMF on the reverse. Speed, in his *History of England*, engraved the coin with the same errors at his pages 170 and 183, and did not, in this case, as it would appear, delineate his representation of the coin from the original.

This mention by Camden of the coin in question, which I have here noticed, may be a proper introduction to a remark or two on the progress of the correct interpretation of Celtic coins since his time. There are but few numismatists of the present day, accustomed to British coins, that can entertain the slightest doubt but that the entire legend might have been then made out had Camden had the slightest suspicion of what it really consisted. He evidently, at that time, was only acquainted with the formula of a monarch's name on a coin, as Philip or Alexander; I mean as it respected ancient British coins. He read the coin accordingly as COM REX, and this REX on the reverse suited him very well, as it brought the whole into the nominative case. He was not aware that he had to do with the coin of a state, confederacy, or province, and that the formula of the PHILLIPPOV of the Greek coins was not now to be applied, but rather that of the ΘHBAIΩN or BOIΩTΩN on the moneys of Thebes and Bœotia in the same coinage. Thus the F of the COMF, and the usually indistinct VIR of the reverse, were both disregarded; and Camden and Speed were no doubt much pleased that they had it in their power to engrave a coin of the "king Comius" of Cæsar, the doughty Gaulish commander, as an ancient British poten-

tate, who, by the way, there is not the slightest reason to suppose, had ever any dominions in Britain.

In reality, there was a much shorter formula, after all, which would have best suited Camden's purpose. It was the plain ΘΗΒΗ or Thebes of the before referred to Greek coinage; for as the words COM.F are now ascertained to imply "The confederation of the Belgæ," or "Firbolgi," so this coin in question must be taken to refer to one of the principal towns of the said confederation or republic; or rather to be the coin of one of their chiefs, who, we find, after the custom of the Gauls, were frequently allowed to have the title of REX even in democracies (see before, p. 6). The said coin is to be regarded as a coin of Viridunum. I have before concluded this town to have been somewhere in Kent (see p. 43, *ante*), though I cannot assign its exact whereabouts. As VIR and VER are to be considered as synonymous (see the page referred to as above), may we conjecture that there were two Viridunums in these parts, one called Viridunum simply, the other Durovernum (Canterbury), or "the Water Viridunum," to distinguish it from the former?

The antiquary, Baxter, is of opinion, in his p. 117, that the Duriarnum of Ravennas, in the kingdom of the Dumnonii, should be read as Durovernum; which, considering the way in which the Durovernum of Kent is varied in the earlier mentions of it, is certainly the most credible supposition: but whether it be more than partially confirmed by manuscripts, I know not. Accepting, therefore, this, we may have no doubt that the same reason prevailed, of distinguishing the Viridunums among the Dumnonii, as has been supposed in the former instance; since a second of the Dumnonian Viridunums is Vernilis, *i.e.*, Vern-Illil (or the king's town), or Viridunum; and a third is Vertenia, or, as Baxter reads it, Vercenia, *i.e.*, the head town, or Viridunum, or presidency of justice. Curiously enough, Baxter, who was not at all aware of the meaning of the *viri* or *ver* in the names of towns, identifies the Durovernum of the Dumnonii with the village of Dowlish in Somersetshire; to which he assigns the same meaning as I have done to Durovernum. The Curias, or Corias, of North Britain, *i.e.*, "Towns of Legislature," are well known.

Subsequently to the time of Camden there were certainly

various wrong formulæ adopted in the explanation of ancient British coins, by those who either by accident or design entered upon the province of informing the world what they meant. But the subject would be too diffuse to follow this matter out: suffice it to say that the occurrence of the genitive case on British moneys was not one of the sources of error, as appears by the remarks of writers as far as twenty years back. The occurrence of double genitive cases, however, might be occasionally so,—such as have been mentioned at p. 27. The great snare is now the bringing forward of forged coins manufactured purposely to have a bearing on controversies; by which even connoisseurs appear to be frequently deceived.

### COINS OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL CLASS.

These are spoken of as a subdivision of the British moneys, in the earlier part of the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 7; which term was found fault with at the time in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but certainly without any just cause. What else can the coins of the Channel Islands be called, and coins of disjointed horses with genii for their charioteers, and many other grotesque representations? Add to this, what else can the coin with the representation of the druid Abaris be termed,—a kind of gnome or sprite with wings for arms,—so ably commented upon by M. De la Saussaye in the *Revue Numismatique*; and many other types in the Gaulish coinage? The term, therefore, ought to remain in force; for there was obviously no law to prevent a college, or community of priests, like the Druids, from striking as many coins as they might choose.

### THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

British coins are of three classes, gold, silver, and bronze; which last seems frequently varied to pure copper, but is never, I think, found approximating to brass, in an equal degree, with Gaulish coins,—where still, however, the interval is very considerable. To begin with the bronze coins. Their imperfect state of preservation may well be a subject of remark and regret; for many valuable bronze British coins are frequently, even yet, very insufficiently read and understood from this cause, of which many examples might

be given. Their former wear as circulating medium, is certainly not the usual reason,—indeed, we may say very rarely so: it is rather their entombment in the earth of from eighteen to nineteen centuries duration, and their being exposed to the various acids of the soil during that period, to which their gradual chemical decomposition is attributable. The coins would appear to have the best chance of preservation in land which has not been broken up for ages, and which may be considered in its primitive state; and where, consequently, the chemical affinities of the soil have been but little disturbed. Their worst chance is when they have been deposited in ploughed fields or gardens, from the variety of acids, or gases evolved from manures, or decay of vegetable substances. It cannot be thought very feasible that bronze coins, under such circumstances, can be found in good preservation. If otherwise, it is contrary to what might be expected. I need scarcely state that it was from the bad state of bronze British coins, that various of Stukeley's mistakes seem to have originated; as also from the same cause that the reading, TASCIOVANI.F., was so long before it was arrived at; as also some other readings. Now see how this applies. It is forgers who are far more likely to supply us with apparently "tip-top" specimens of ancient British coins, exhibiting almost a perfect state of preservation, as if fresh from the mint, than that the laws of nature should be reversed, and that the bronze should receive no injury from its being buried so many centuries in the soil. I am not here speaking of patinated coins, where the preservation is frequently perfect; but of unpatinated ones. But patina now is NO PROTECTION, as it can be imitated; and a pamphlet has been published at Marseilles on the subject.

Ancient British coins in silver often suffer as much in their preservation as bronze coins, the original metal being found oxidized into a soft and very brittle substance. As to gold British coins, they sometimes exhibit the effects of wear; otherwise their preservation is generally found very perfect.

### THE CELTIC TERM, "TASCIOVANUS."

The asking whether there was ever such a person as Tasciovanus, is pretty much like the inquiry, Was there ever such a person as "Your Majesty"? To be sure, there may

have been many persons who bore the title of *tasciovanus*, that is, "commander in chief," which even Cunobeline himself did, and at least one of his sons. But if the inquiry be, Is the word *tasciovanus* actually the proper name of any person? The answer may be decidedly given,—it is not.

I rely on the legend of VREIS BOD TASCIA, of a coin found in Suffolk, and originally brought forward by Mr. C. Roach Smith, to prove this. The coin has been quoted already (see pp. 35-36, 49, 91-2, 133, *ante*); but I now refer to it to point out definitely and distinctly that the Iceni formed an entirely different kingdom from that of Cunobeline, and to make the remark that Suffolk comprised part of their territories. The coin, besides, is inscribed with the name of Vreis, or Prasutagus, their king, and displays the two half-moons, the usual insignia of the Icenian kingdom. Now Tacitus says of Prasutagus (in his *Annals*, xiv, 31), that he was "longâ opulentiâ clarus"; that is, as seems best translated, "renowned for a length of time for his great prosperity." It is to be implied, therefore, that the kingdom of the Iceni was at that time intact; and it may be reasonably asked, How could a Trinobantine sovereign have found his way to Suffolk, to issue a coinage there with the Icenian national symbols inserted on it, and the name of their monarch inscribed upon it likewise? The question, then, is easily answered, namely, that there must be some mistake in the supposition; and that the coins—for there are several of them of different types—are no other than those of Prasutagus, sovereign of the Iceni; and that the supposed name of a second sovereign, in the word *tasciovanus*, is only a mistake; and that the same is in reality no more than one of the titles of the said Prasutagus, signifying "commander in chief."

### THE CELTIC LANGUAGE.

The late Honble. Algernon Herbert, a very learned and acute writer, would not tolerate the use of this term. His reasonings were certainly rather fanciful on the subject; but I cannot so well describe them as by referring to a few lines of his in a letter with which I was honoured from him, dated from Ickleton, near Saffron Walden, April 7th, 1850. He says: "*There is no such language as the Celtic*; and Dom. Bullet did more harm than good with his osten-

tatious work under that vague name. There are two languages widely remote: the one existing in three principal dialects, the other in two."

It is easy to see the real point taken up by Mr. Herbert. Sir William Betham, about a quarter of a century ago, raised the question whether the Welsh language could be a branch of the same tongue as the Irish, from the difference of grammatical construction existing at the present time between the two. The answer to this, however, is remarkably easy. There is but little doubt that, originally, both languages were nearly destitute of inflexions, and that their construction was almost wholly idiomatic and conventional. The Irish language appears to have got on first in adopting these now so essential accompaniments of human speech; for we find by ancient annals that as early as the sixth century Ireland was full of learned men; while in the same century, as appears by Aneurin's *Poem of the Gododin*, inflexions were absolutely hardly known in Wales: and when they did supply this deficiency in after times, it is quite clear they did so without any reference to Ireland.

There are numerous words in the Welsh, certainly, which do not correspond with the Irish in a comparison of various given specimens. I attribute this to the Welsh and Irish both being very copious dialects of the Celtic, and there consequently being a great variety of words to select from. The Irish language is the same as the Phœnician, or the language of the Carthaginians, which is the same thing; as appears by the passages in the Phœnician or Punic language introduced in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus. These passages, if they be compared with modern Irish, as has been done by Colonel Vallancey in his *Collectanea*, vol. ii; by O'Connor in his *Chronicles of Eri*, vol. i, pp. 241-3; and by Sir Laurence Parsons, Bart., in his *Defence of the Ancient History of Ireland*, pp. 153-157; and in Sir William Betham's *Gael and Cimbri*, pp. 113-138; will shew not merely the similarity, but the absolute identity, of the two languages, beyond any possible contradiction or abatement whatsoever. However, notwithstanding this be true, yet the Phœnician language, I judge, as in the speeches in question, exhibits but a skeleton of the Irish, though it be nearly exactly the same as far as it goes. It follows, then, that what is called the Irish tongue, or Gaelic, has received numerous additions

from some primæval language. Had the colonies which peopled Ireland, arrived entirely by a sea voyage, it might have been expected that the Irish language would have been, even at the present time, much more exclusively Phœnician or Punic than it is, and with much fewer extraneous additions; but it appears to me to correspond better with existing data, that the Irish, by whatsoever name they first arrived in Ireland, did so by traversing Spain from Africa, as their accounts maintain; and then by proceeding through France, and crossing by the channel. I conclude that, in the first instance, as was supposed by the eminent Edward Lhuyd, they occupied the whole of South Britain till stronger and more numerous bodies of continental Celts coming into the country, they were driven to cross over to Ireland, leaving an immense number of places bearing names in their language behind them, particularly on the western coasts of the kingdom.

The Celts who succeeded them were called Britons. Of these I remark that, when the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in describing the early conquests of their race, beginning from the year 464, speaks frequently, though in an isolated manner, of the Wealas or Welsh, precisely the same people are meant; as we can easily understand from a due attention to the composition of the *Saxon Chronicle*, which was compiled from such materials as could be obtained; some of which, it is evident, were not drawn up till long after the Britons had retired to Wales, and acquired the name, in the Anglo-Saxon, of "Wealas" or Welsh (see *Britannic Researches*, pp. 55, 247, 293), where some particular attention is paid to this subject. I have no idea that the *Saxon Chronicle* meant two distinct races. In regard to the term "Cymri," which appears gradually to have fixed itself on the inhabitants of Wales, and on those of Cumberland and Lancashire,—and, indeed, on the whole kingdom of the northern Britons, as Strathclyde, Eiddin, Rheged, Argoed, etc., quite across Scotland, from sea to sea,—no one knows the origin of it, or the precise time of its introduction; so we are the less able to argue upon it. Could we ascertain some definite data regarding this term, it certainly would be a considerable point gained. There is no doubt, however, that the Cimbri of Holstein were Celts. (See Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography*, 8vo. 1850.)

I make the foregoing remarks to bear on the subject of the Celtic languages; and I imbibe the idea of the eminent Welshman, Edward Lhuyd, as I have before observed, that the Irish, otherwise the Gaelic race, first occupied our island; who were driven out of it by the Britons, who themselves, in their turn, many centuries afterwards, were obliged to retire within the limits of Wales. This was occasioned by the great losses incurred in the war with the Anglo-Saxons, which, with a short interval, lasted one hundred and thirty-seven years,—that is, from the year 449 to 586.

I have thus, I conceive, supplied a key to various material points connected with the Celtic languages of Great Britain; and leaving other matters as special objects of inquiry to those who may be inclined to make them, I merely recite, in reference to these two great branches of the Celtic, that each is divided into three dialects: the Irish into Manx, and the Gaelic of Scotland, or Erse; the Welsh into Cornish and Armorican.

It may here be mentioned that there is a subdivision in the Welsh itself, in the dialects of North and South Wales; but this I purposely omit.

In regard to the late Sir William Betham. He has been somewhat underrated by a learned and estimable writer in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October 1860 (p. 320), who terms him merely a "butterfly." On the contrary, I view him as a powerful though sceptical and fallacious writer. It can hardly be said that a person who has evidently unduly biassed and misled such *literati* as the late Honble. Algernon Herbert, Mr. Kemble, and ultimately Lord Macaulay himself, not to speak of one or two eminent *literati* now living, can be altogether light and trivial in his ethnological inquiries and compositions.

Sir William Betham is best seen in his work, *The Gael and Cymbri* (8vo., 1834), in which he came forward as the head and leader of what is now called "the anti-Welsh theory"; and his reasonings, though specious, are certainly such as are calculated to mislead even eminent English *literati* who are off their guard, and even Cambrian scholars and researchers who are not well grounded in their own history. Sir William Betham materially lost ground by his last work, his *Etruria Celtica*, from some obviously incorrect interpretations of Etruscan inscriptions, which he too

incautiously introduced. To shew Sir W. Betham's general incompetency, he gives pp. 196-200 of his *Gael and Cymbri*, the interpretation of thirty-seven names of persons in Britain and Gaul, nearly the whole of which are obviously titular; and he represents the etymology *of not a single one of them* correctly.

The Rev. Robert Williams, of Rhydycroesau, gives his opinion strongly in favour of the connexion of the Irish and Welsh. He expresses himself thus: "So far from there being not the slightest affinity (as asserted by Sir W. Betham), I have no hesitation in saying that the affinity is most intimate. Full two-thirds of the vocabulary of the Irish language are identical with Welsh, as I have ascertained by absolute enumeration. The idioms and system of forming compounds, agree very closely; and the system of forming initial changes is peculiar and common to both." (*Arch. Camb.* for June 1860, p. 203.)

The identification of the Punic or Phœnician speeches, in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus, with the modern Irish, was one of the greatest discoveries of the eighteenth century. It comes next in importance to that of the Nineveh Marbles in the present century, or that of the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. It was originally effected by Mr. O'Neetan, as Sir William Betham informs us in his *Gael and Cymbri* (p. 112); but his name was kept much in the background, and it was first in reality brought into public notice by General Vallancey. The state of the text, as compared with that of Gronovius in 1721, appears to be very satisfactory; and the speeches unquestionably make a new æra in the ethnology and languages of Europe. We know now what the Celtic language is; and our *literati* are enabled now to pronounce, *ex cathedrâ*, their judgment on recondite questions, which only a few years since it would have been almost temerity to have attempted. We accordingly now know that Irish is the most pure Celtic dialect, as most coinciding with the ancient Phœnician. But with this it must be remembered that the British Belgæ having obtained a forcible occupation of Ireland, for at least fifty-six years, two or three centuries before Christ; and there being likewise always to be presumed an immigration from the north of Spain in ancient times,—consequently an admixture of the Basque language is to be allowed for, as it has been

pronounced by the learned Edward Lhuyd that there is; and also a mixture from Britain of the dialect as then spoken by the invading Belgæ or Firbolgi, must be considered to have been unavoidable.

I am of opinion that the Celtic language, as spoken on the continent of Europe in the time of Cæsar, had already become corrupted by admixture with the dialects of Europe. I am firmly convinced that the modern Welsh more nearly represents the Celtic of that day, than any other of the present dialects that exist; but that, like the ancient Celtic of that time, it has to a certain amount been corrupted, and much augmented in its vocabulary. When I say "corrupted," I do not mean debased. On the contrary, I fully think that the additions have been great improvements; and an extensive proportion of the synonymes being retained, has increased its copiousness and beauties; so that the Welsh may now be justly termed the primary and most important Celtic dialect, and its cultivation is highly desirable.

The slightest reflection will convince every unprejudiced person, and perhaps some prejudiced ones also, that the above observations are correct; for how could I otherwise have explained the Celtic inscriptions in the present work, and the various ancient words in the *Glossary*, were it not so; my main medium having been the Welsh? I could not have succeeded in it by the Irish language; but it has been done, indeed, by five dialects, as I have not used the Manx. Had I been driven to one,—the Welsh, in four cases out of five, would have supplied the etymologies required; but the Irish would have been very insufficient,—chiefly, I conceive, because it is purer Celtic than was in use in Britain and on the Continent at the date of the inscriptions; and again, also, because it is not copious enough.

I have relied on the fact that the Irish Celts were dispossessed of South Britain by the race of Celts called the Britons. This I have assumed from the evidence of dialects and etymology. But of course there was much more connected with the races which occupied ancient Britain before the Christian æra than that one fact. The Irish Celts when they came to Britain, undoubtedly dispossessed a race of earlier Celts or aborigines, and incorporated them with themselves. Again, when the Britons had driven out the

Irish, they themselves in process of time were invaded by the Belgian Gauls in three distinct inroads; one as supposed about the date of the Delphic expeditions, or about 278 years before Christ, which is termed the inroad or invasion of the Midland Belgæ or Firbolgi. A second one was that of the Coranians or Iceni, about an hundred years before the same æra; and further, a third one was that of the Southern Belgæ or Firbolgi, mentioned by Cæsar, *Gaulish Wars*, ii, 4, which occurred about 80 years before it. These populations occupied all of Britain, south of the Humber and Mersey, except Dumnoniâ, *i.e.*, Cornwall and Devonshire, and a part of Somersetshire. These are the people who figure away on the coins which have supplied us with a portion of our inscriptions. These are the people who resisted Cæsar, and afterwards the emperor Claudius, in their invasions. These are the people, who, under the name of the Belgæ or Firbolgi, invaded Ireland, as recorded in the *Irish Annals*; and ultimately valiantly contended with the Anglo-Saxons for the possession of Great Britain itself for 137 years, with a short interval, till they were obliged to yield to the immense pressure of continual reinforcements pouring in from the North of Germany (See *Nennius*, c. 65). They, *i.e*, the Saxons, says this author, applying his words to the sixth century, "sought aid from Germany, and were without intermission multiplied and increased from that quarter; and invited kings from Germany to reign over them." As to the Britons, they could merely receive assistance from Armorica, which only occurred once or twice, so that at last, about five or six centuries afterwards, they capitulated, or rather did homage to Edward the First, in the year 1283. This is a slight sketch of Welsh ethnology; but besides this, there is the ethnology of the Britons of Caledonia (see p. 61, ante) which I have not here entered upon.

It has been said in abatement of Edward Lhuyd's opinion that the Irish originally preoccupied England, which judicious conclusion of his, as before observed, I here also assert and maintain; it is said in abatement, I repeat, that Owen Pughe's copious dictionary shows that the names which he, Edward Lhuyd, supposed were exclusively Irish, can be derived in some form or other from the Welsh dialect of the Celtic (See *Archæologia Cambrensis* for June 1860, p. 197).

Admitting this, it is sufficient to say that they are more *obviously* Irish than they are Welsh. Further than this, it will be found, that when Celtic etymologies are attempted in South Britain, for instance in Kent and Sussex, formulæ according to the Gaelic of Scotland *must* be adopted. See the instance of Keston in the former page 106. Derivatives from the Erse or Scotch Gaelic term of *Muach biggin, i.e.* "swine sheds," are also found in Kent and Sussex, in the homely form of "Mockbeggar," etc., various hamlets or dwellings being so called. The name of the site of a noted kistvaen in Kent called *Coldrum*, might likewise possibly be satisfactorily explained, by a reference to the above dialect; and it may be remarked that a perfectly pure Welsh derivation in these parts forms an exception to the general rule.

The whole family of Celtic languages which we are accustomed to regard as to its origin, Punic or Phœnician, should more properly be distinguished by merely the general term "Asiatic," in respect to its fountain head; for we do not know from what part or country of Asia, precisely, the original swarm of Celts burst forth, who inundated Europe (See Dr. Bosworth's Preface to his *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 8vo. 1838, p. 10).

The learned appear to assign their place of crossing from Asia into Europe to have been the Cimmerian Bosphorus, between the Black Sea and the Sea of Asoph (see again Dr. Bosworth *loco citato*). The Teutones in their route from Asia to Europe are likewise supposed by this author to have passed at this same place.

The lines in the Phœnician language, introduced into the Pœnulus of Plautus, extend to some considerable length, in fact they are twenty-three in number, arranged in one principal speech, and afterwards in some short sentences. This is fortunate for Celtic researchers, as similar instances are but rare, either in ancient or modern dramatic literature. Indeed, I can scarcely recollect a case in point, except in the lines in French in Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth. The poet, Plautus, certainly displayed singular boldness in inserting this rather long Carthaginian speech, which must have been perfectly unintelligible to nineteen-twentieths of his audience. It is true, they are accompanied by some very lively dialogue, and are placed just at the point of the highest interest of the drama, which is all that can be said

in this behalf. We have the advantage of the poet's boldness, in having the benefit of these passages preserved, which are of such exceeding great value to literature.

As to the close proximity of these Punic speeches to the Hebrew; Bochart, in his *Phaleg*, chapter ii, sufficiently informs us on this point, who has translated the ten first lines into that language. The identity of the words is striking, though the variations in orthography are certainly very considerable. He does not think the lines that follow after the first ten lines, that is, the concluding six, are Punic, but Lybian; nor do they indeed seem quite so closely to correspond with the Irish as the preceding ones. Bochart formed the improbable supposition, that these six last were a repetition of the same import as the first ten. The Irish version of them, however, sufficiently removes that idea; and shows that Hanno the Carthaginian, who makes the speech, continues in them his reflections on his situation, and expresses his wishes.

With respect to the derivation of the Welsh language from Oriental sources, there is so much admixture of the Hebrew in several ancient languages, that Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua*, pp. 316-17, with somewhat too great a dilation of his views, it must be confessed, might almost be said to regard it as his mother tongue, and the Welsh to be an immediate derivative from it. But other nations are pretty much in the same circumstances, and some indeed even more so. We do not pretend any very close connexion for the English language with Hebrew, yet a foreign savant pronounced, some years since, that it comprised within its compass six thousand pure Hebrew words, and nevertheless all Celtic languages have a closer connexion with the ancient root we are speaking of than the Teutonic ones. Had Rowlands enjoyed the advantages we possess, he probably would have admitted that the Irish dialect approximated more than the Welsh, as being evidently closer to the ancient Punic or Phœnician tongue than it.

## PLATED AND WASHED COINS.

These form a numerous class in gold and silver, and seem to have had currency almost during the whole of the Roman empire. They were not always the work of forgers, for it seems to be admitted, that sometimes there was a

legal issue of them, and the execution of some of them is so superior as to favour the idea. They are either tin, thus disguised with silver, or silver with gold. I may refer to one of this last description, *i.e.*, silver washed over or coated with gold, in the possession of Mr. Pretty, of the emperor Eugenius, who was contemporary with Theodosius the Great: but I cannot find that Anglo-Saxon coins have been thus dealt with. In respect to alleged Saxon gold coins, the *Archæological Journal*, vol. i. p. 261, gives an instance of a gold coin of Edward the Confessor, which seems to be elaborately based on proofs, and may be considered perhaps the instance which is best supported. While the celebrated work of Ruding, vol. iii, third edition, 4to. 1840, his *Annals of the Coinage*, engraves a gold coin of William the Conqueror, plate H, fig. 44. This high authority may perhaps change the views of many, and leave this matter as an open question, from this extension of the numismatic horizon. Each researcher must therefore decide according to his own idea of the case.

## GENEALOGY OF VORTIGERN.

This ancient document as in the *History* of Nennius, c. 54, which is admitted on all hands to be genuine, is nearly throughout a roll of titular names, and consequently has a strong bearing on our present subject.

The first name in the pedigree, or rather the last, for the names are placed in an ascending order, is Glovi (Glovius ?) who seems to have received his name from some dignity or other connexion he had with Glevum or Gloucester; but of him there is nothing to remark, except that in some copies of the pedigree he is said to have had four sons, Bonus, Paul, Meuron, and Guitolin, from which last the pedigree is continued down to Fernmail, lord of Builth and Gworthigirniaun, in the fourth year of Mervyn, king of the Britons, which is considered to correspond with the year 822 of our era. The lineage accordingly will be as follows.

1, Glovius; 2, Guitolin; 3, Guitaul; 4, Guortheneu; 5, Guorthigern; 6, Pascent; 7, Briacat; 8, Mepurit; 9, Paul; 10, Eldoc; 11, Eldat; 12, Moriud; 13, Guidocant; 14, Pascent; 15, Theudubir; 16, Fernmail.

In remark, it appears that this family were rulers of some considerable district on the river Wye, with which a

certain military command or shrievalty was attached. The second, third, and thirteenth names resolve themselves into this, in which the river Wye is absoluteiy mentioned. Two, the seventh and tenth, relate to military commands only. The sixth, ninth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, are religious and Christian names. The fourth, Gwortheneu, *i.e.*, *(Gwerth-y-newydd)* signifies the new honour or barony, or, according to the Celtic form, its possessor; which also Guorthigern the fifth name implies. The sixteenth, Fernmail, is supposed the same name as Farinmagil, *i.e.*, Vaur-an-magil implying the great lord. One or two names are uncertain, and taul or tal in Guitaul, it should be added, signifies prince.

The infatuation is certainly very astonishing, which would torture the word *Gwortheneu, i.e.* the new principality, into gwerth-enau, that is "the perverse lips or mouth," and make it a stigma upon Vortigern, for his alleged thwarting of the views of the Britons. Whereas it is pretty evident that guerth or gworth is in the sense of a principality, barony, or honour in compensation for services; and that neu stands for newydd in Welsh, which word is newath in the Gaelic of Ireland, and nuath in the Gaelic of Scotland, but many would strike out a step in the pedigree to make *gwortheneu* a degrading epithet applying to Vortigern.

Some one may object, "The point may possibly be not correctly ascertained." Here, however, topography comes in to our assistance; for the territory in question, and no doubt the very same adjoining Erging and Ewias, the ancient patrimony of Vortigern, is still called "the Hundred of Grimsworth," *i.e, ghremes gwerth*, that is "the Warrior's recompense"; and this as collateral evidence, is very strong; and some other arguments, were they needed, could also be adduced. The etymology of the name Vortigern is *Gwerth-teyern*, that is, "The lord, or literally, king of the Principality."

Twenty-nine out of thirty of the ancient manuscripts of Nennius, in English and continental libraries, give the reading of Guorthigern map Guortheneu, and all the printed ones I believe, except that of Mr. Stevenson's, who chanced to print his text from that very one copy, of the whole thirty which differed from the rest.

However, though I have ventured to style this idea an

infatuation, yet I must confess it is by no means an error of recent date ; or rather, that is, in part not so. The Harleian manuscript 3859 favours the reading of Guorthigern Guortheu. The three manuscripts of the Irish Nennius, which dates in the ninth century, all have "Guorthigern the son of Guitail," leaving out the descent of Guortheneu—the fourth manuscript, in Lord Ashburnham's hands, is not yet collated. At the same time it does not appear for what reason, Marcus the British bishop and missionary in Ireland, the editor of the Irish copy of Nennius, left out this intermediate descent. It might be, that he considered it a repetition of, or a mistake for the name of Guorthigern ; and the same might have been the case with the writer of the Harleian manuscript 3859, who has got the word Guortheu, and does not seem to have known of the reading Gwerth-enau, or perverse lips, or mouth. This last interpretation, by the way, is probably entirely modern, as the *Triads*, which are very inveterate against Vortigern, seem to have known nothing about it.

Sir William Betham, in his *Gael and Cimbri*, thinks that the names in this pedigree approximate to the Irish language, but the best copies of it are certainly pure Welsh ; though still not without a slight tincture of the Belgico-Celtic element, as is implied in the word "Meuron," which is still, I believe, very common as a name in Holland and the Netherlands. Meuron, is Mawr-ampt, or an, *i.e*, "the high official."

Now, to return to the general subject of the pedigree—let me ask, whether there be not an history of the Vortigern family in this pedigree, as plainly as there may be of the Stanley family in that of Ferdinando, Lord Derby. We see in this lineage a line of territorial princes or barons of a district on the Wye, which may be dissected thus. The first three British chiefs who appear to have been connected with the Roman station and city of Glevum or Gloucester and with whom the pedigree commences, would seem to have had no public position ; but the fourth, Guortheneu, evidently served the ruler or vicegerent of the day importantly, for a new dignity or principality is carved out for him, *Gwerth-y-neu*, or barony, or honour paramount, from which, according to the Celtic custom he afterwards took his name, and by which alone we now know him, as his

original name does not appear. Afterwards the government of Britain becomes more settled, and a new dynasty under Constantine of Armorica, king or pendragon of Britain, commences in the year 435; and the reign of this sovereign continued till 446. The family still rises in the state, and politics at length, though as it is asserted, not quite honourably and fairly, bring one of them, Vortigern, to the throne. Politics hurl them down again from the throne in the next generation after the death of Vortigern's gallant son Vortimer, and after the intrigues of Pascent his brother with Ireland had been frustrated. Then comes the treaty with Aurelius Ambrosius, the new sovereign of the island, *Nennius*, c. 45, and the family are permitted to hold their own, and to reside in their former territories; but this, after the lapse of sixty or seventy years, becomes no longer possible, and they are driven pell-mell into Wales by the Saxons, along with the other Britons in the year 586. There, by management, force, or connivance, they become possessed of the barony or territories of Builth and Guorthigirniaun, in Radnorshire, where they remain settled in the ninth century, the family being then represented by Fermail or Farinmagil, a British chief; after which they became entirely unmentioned, and unknown in history, and most probably all perished in some of the Anglo-Saxon or Norman wars and incursions. It does not appear in the pedigrees in Dr. Jones' *History of Wales*, pp. 266-287, that any moderns derive their descent from this family.

### JOCULAR INSCRIPTIONS.

Whim, caprice, irregular flights of fancy, and even an element as base as forgery, have often been productive of these. I will just insert some references to a few as briefly as possible, relating except in one instance to the Celts or Roman Britons, or to the invasion of Britain, to show what has been done in this way.

An individual, under the signature of Thomas Williams, and professing to be a curate in the Church of England, took extraordinary pains in the year 1784, to invent an inscription connected with the campaigns of Suetonius Paulinus; then (A.D. 59-62) employed in the conquest of Britain. It was inserted in vol. 54 of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June of that year, p. 403, and was as follows:

DIIS MANIBVS. OB FAVSTVLAM FILIAM CARISS. POS. CAIVS SVETONIVS PROCESS. S.I.T.L. The account given in the letter to the editor signed as above mentioned, affects to describe that the inscription was on a rough stone, covering an urn, in which were ashes, several pieces of calcined bone, and a piece or two of rind or bark of a tree. It is said to have been found in digging up a gate post in the farm-yard of Wootton Vicarage, near Dorking, in Surrey, the 6th June, 1784, and the Vicar, the Rev. Mr. Taylor and Counsellor Newman are said to have been present at the discovery. The whole account was contradicted, and pronounced a forgery in a subsequent number; but not till July 1785, at p. 512, at which reference is inserted the following communication from a correspondent to the editor. "I cannot help observing on this occasion that the Roman inscription at Waaton (Wooton), published by you in June 1784, p. 403, is a gross imposition, fabricated to impose on the lord of the manor, who aspires to be thought an antiquarian."

My next is an altar in Shropshire or one of the adjoining counties, with a reference to which I have been favoured by my friend Mr. C. Roach Smith. It is inscribed thus, DEABVS NVMPHIS BRITANNIAE L. CARACTACVS CORNAVIVS. V.S.L.M. The altar is of a somewhat square form, with a cornice round the upper part of it, and an oval basin at the top. It is a sportive inscription evidently, to the ladies of Britain in the pagan style, by some one who personated the eminent British hero Caractacus; who, however, I believe, had no connexion with the Cornavii, except, perhaps, fighting one of his battles in their country—certainly no connexion so as to be called CORNAVIVS. He was ostensibly more likely to have been born at Camulodunum, in the country of the Trinobantes in Essex.

Another instance, if I am correct in my views, is the urn formerly in the Faussett collection, now in that of Joseph Mayer, Esq., at Liverpool, described in Mr. C. Roach Smith's interesting work the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v, pp. 115-121. The urn is believed to have been procured from North Elmham in Norfolk, and the inscription is D. M. LAELIAE RVFINAE VIXIT. A. XIII. M. III. D. VI., which is scratched on the urn by a sharp instrument. I shall say the less about this inscription, first, because I have no particular reason to suppose that Mr. C. Roach Smith concurs

in my views; and secondly, because the urn is considered more Anglo-Saxon than Romano-British or Celtic. But admitting the inscription to be a freak of some one of Mr. Bryan Faussett's sons nearly a century ago, then the name LAELIA would have been suggested by the strange and undiscoverable enigma, which had so much currency about an hundred years since, of ÆLIA LÆLIA CRISPIS, etc., and RVFINA would have been suggested from the equally familiar name of Claudia Rufina, connected so closely with Britain by the Roman poet Martial, and dilated upon so copiously by the learned Stillingfleet and others. Here appears to be case enough to excite some attention. It would appear to be scarcely like chance that these two so hackneyed names should meet together in one and the same inscription, and no others.

The ornamentation of the exterior of the urn, according to the delineation of it in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea*, in the passage before referred to, which, however, is only of one side, leaves two oblong spaces in the centre; a greater and a lesser one; the former of which has supplied the place for the insertion of the inscription: the commencing D.M. is placed out of the oblong, and some little space above the inscription.

There is no other example of a funereal urn with an oblong space prepared for an inscription: nor, indeed, does it appear in this case to have been so prepared. Add to this the words engraved on this urn, being in the usual form of a lapidary inscription, is somewhat against their authenticity.

Again, there are some inscriptions which wear the appearance of being sportive, but which most probably are not so. Such as the one of which a copy was exhibited at the Congress of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Bangor in 1860, in possession of Mr. Wynne. (See *Gentleman's Magazine* for November that year, p. 497.) It has the Greek monogram of the name of Christ over it, *i.e.*, the Greek R, in ligature with the X as on the *labarum* or standard of Constantine the Great, and afterwards the inscription CARAVSIVS HIC IACIT (so) IN HOC (hac) CONGERIES (so) LAPIDVM. Here it may rather be said that some person of about the sixth century, who took the name of Carausius, and was a Christian, was buried at the spot.

Besides this, its original discovery by Pennant in a wild country, near Festiniog, in North Wales, favours its authenticity.

The alleged inscription to Carausius, in Lewis, one of the Islands of the Hebrides (see Dr. Kennedy's *Second Dissertation on Carausius, etc.*, 4to., 1756, p. 23, and the anonymous History of Carausius, 4to., 1762, p. 31), might be here further alluded to, but the fact of its ever having existed is in a high degree doubtful.

### GILDAS AND NENNIUS.

The misunderstandings in various published works of these two authors, are really, as regarding the advanced state of historical inquiry of the age, very unwarrantable and reprehensible. Here are two authors, many important passages of which are apparently misunderstood, and various others again which scarcely seem ever to have received any comment or notice whatever, and it may be reasonably inquired why some of the literati of the past and present day have not supplied us with their much needed assistance, who have, at various times, kindly come forward to relieve historical explorers of their toils and researches of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, as far as British history extended, pronouncing all the accounts of them as mere myths, and thus striking out with a dash of their pens all historical details of the three above alluded to centuries, which for the last twelve hundred years had received a due portions of credence? Why have not, it may be asked, some of these learned persons, and in may respects, acute inquirers, informed us of the real meaning of two or three passages of Gildas, which are of great significance in their way? For instance, why have they not told us that Gildas' "Lioness," of whom he speaks in his sixth chapter, is not Boadicea, the celebrated British queen who drew the sword so valiantly against the Romans, but Roman Britain itself, and that he merely means to refer, in that personification, to the unquiet state of the island in the insurrection of Carausius and Allectus, of which affairs he gives an account after his own manner; and that he then, in alluding to the former coinage being suspended and superseded by the effigies of Cæsar being stamped on the coin, has no reference at all to the coinage of the ancient Britons, which

had ceased already, before the revolt of Boadicea; but alludes merely to the inscriptions of Carausius and Allectus no more making their appearance in the island, and those of Constantius Chlorus, then Diocletian's Cæsar, that is, his acknowledged heir and successor, being stamped on the public coins instead; on whose monies issued about that time the addition "NOBILIS CÆSAR" usually appears? (See *Britannic Researches*, pp. 174-5). This would have been affording us some real guidance, and this one correction makes Gildas a far more consistent historian, and a more correct observer of chronological detail than many suppose; for it fills up the break between his earlier and later narrative of Britain, which otherwise presents a considerable chasm.

The true statistics of Nennius, a British historical author in some respects of a nearly similar class as Gildas, have also been neglected in much the same way, and in fact scarcely entered upon at all in many important passages. A specimen is thus supplied of the usual style and quality of the instruction afforded to the British public of their early history.

With respect to the Roman coinage in Britain, succeeding that of Carausius and Allectus, to which Gildas directs our attention in the passage where he introduces his lioness, two coins of the said Constantius Chlorus, found in this island of Britain (see Buckman's and Newmarch's *Corinium*, p. 147), will come in very appropriately, and may accordingly be here given.

No. 1, second brass, found at Cirencester. *Obverse* inscribed CONSTANTIVS. NOB. CAES.; *reverse*, Moneta standing with cornucopia and scales, and with the legend, SAC. MON. AVGG. ET CAESS. NOSTR.; in the exergue, S.T. No. 2, found likewise at Cirencester, and also in bronze. *Obverse*, FL. VAL. CONSTANTIVS. NOB. CAES.; *reverse*, a genius with a cornucopia and the inscription, GENIO POPVLI ROMANI; and in the exergue, PLC. It is difficult to persuade oneself that these were not two of the very types which came under the notice of Gildas, and to which he alludes. Numerous other coins of this emperor might also be cited to the same effect.

The very curious passage of Gildas, wherein he speaks of his lioness, and the rebellions of Carausius and Allectus, may here follow.

"The Roman army returning to Rome from the poverty of the country, as is said, and suspecting no rebellion, the crafty lioness (that is Roman Britain) slew the governors that had been left behind, the more fully to make known and establish the institutions and high intentions (*molimina*) of the Roman empire. Which things being done and reported to the Senate, and an army being hastily despatched to take revenge on (the cubs of the lioness, or rather on) the cunning fox cubs, as the Senate expressed it, there was no fleet at sea ready to fight bravely for their country; nor was there on the shore any army drawn up in squares, or strong body of horse (*cornu*), to protect their right wing; or, indeed, any other military preparation, but they presented their backs for shields to those who put them to flight and their necks to the sword, a cold tremor pervading them to their very bones: and their hands, too, were stretched out like those of women to be bound, so that it passed far and wide into a proverb and a subject of laughter, that "the Roman Britons are neither brave in war nor faithful in peace." He goes on to describe at some length the abject way in which the Roman Britons were treated on their reconquest, and he concludes his statement by telling his readers, that it was ordered and provided that the island should be no more called Britain, but "the Roman Island," and that all money whatsoever in brass, silver, or gold, should be impressed with the image of Cæsar.

Now Gildas took a document drawn up in the Roman interest for his authority, as he himself tells us in his *History*, c. 4, and a most prejudiced, perverted, and lying one it was. So flagrant was the lying and perversion of this document, and so unworthy of the ancient Romans, that its existence is more symptomatic of the decline and fall of their empire than many other instances which might be alleged, and makes it necessary for me to identify some of the transactions which Gildas mentions. Thus, because the powerful fleet which the islanders had at sea to intercept the Roman expedition failed of that object, by reason of a fog, they are coolly said to have prepared no fleet whatever. Again, because Allectus kept his forces concentrated near Londinium, being uncertain where his enemies might land—the best measure undoubtedly—he is accused of having no forces ready to protect his shores. Further,

because through extreme courage, and, indeed, rashness, he attacked the enemy by forced marches, with an insufficient force, and with only part of his troops, and was consequently defeated and killed, the whole British party is accused of cowardice. Further and lastly, because they were cruelly massacred at Londinium and other places *after their defeat*, when they were necessarily in a helpless condition, they are bitterly reproached as if they had the power of preventing it, and the very sufferings they endured are made an accusation against them. It is fortunate that the panegyrical writers, as they are called, afford us the means of somewhat redeeming the characters of Allectus and the Roman Britons of the day.

There are some other points in the statement of Gildas on which comments might be made. The expedition against Allectus, which he terms a hastily prepared expedition, was by no means so, as, according to his own account, it had been got together three years before, while Carausius and Allectus were yet associates in their government. Further, so far from the islanders taking no measures for their defence, their being so well on their guard was the reason that the Roman invading armament did not sail till after the considerable interval which has just been mentioned had elapsed.

## THE ANCIENT CELTIC DEFINITE ARTICLE.

The Celts of primitive times shared the use of the definite article *o* with the Greeks: with a difference of position, however. For whereas the Greeks always had it in the beginning of a word, the Celts invariably had it in the middle of a word compounded of two substantives or of a substantive and adjective. The obvious use of the Celts doing this was the deficiency of their language in its form, in not having inflections, and whole sentences in their language being in the form of idioms, they had thus to show that this particular combination of three words comprised a separate idiom of itself. Contrary to this, and yet not quite contrary, the *o* in our days makes its appearance in the beginning of personal names in which it is only used in modern phrase, as "O'Sullivan;" but there, some Christian name is always supposed to occupy the place of some word or other, which, according to ancient arrangement, stood before the other two.

THE LEGEND TASC. FIR.

This reading may be considered pretty sufficiently established by Mr. Wigan's coin, which authenticates it, and by a coin formerly discovered by Lord Braybrook, and so read. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 214, etc.) I can only refer to the above, which are given in good faith, and appear to be substantiated, and observe that Lord Braybrook considers that the reading TASC. FIL. also, has been discovered. (See the *Archæological Journal* for June 1860, p. 127. Knowing the arts with which spurious coins are circulated, it appears to me not impossible that his lordship, though himself incapable of using any deception, may have been imposed upon, either immediately or remotely, and a fabricated coin brought forward, which, by the way, is described as being *in remarkably fine preservation*, or in words to that effect; or, otherwise, possibly the coin may not have been correctly read. Every true numismatist anxious for historical correctness, will, I am sure, justify me in making the above remarks, which, in the present state of numismatical science, becomes the more necessary. It is, indeed, imperative on me to express myself with candour on the above points, not intending any offence to any one.

However, in the other alternative, supposing the reading to be just so as it is given out, where is the mighty difference after all? The legend TASC. FIL. will not prove that *Tasciovanus* is a proper name. By no means. The signification of it merely, would be "The son of the Imperator, *i.e.*, the Monarch," and it would not be very different from the mediæval forms, "Fitzroy," or, "(En)fauntleroy," and "Fils l'Empereur," *i.e.*, King's son, or, "The Emperor's son." There would be even some colour for this in ancient British history: for both chronicles and triads speak of Caractacus as "Caradoc, the son of Bran," that is, Caractacus, the king's son. It is somewhat parallel with Charles the Second's coin-inscription of CAROLVS A CAROLO, though titular names are not there expressed; and by no means makes the existence of the legend TASC. FIR. incompatible with it. Charles the Second had numerous varying inscriptions besides the one above quoted of CAROLVS A CAROLO, including the DECVS ET TVTAMEN, used afterwards by George the Third, and including also the REX ANGLIÆ, which was his TASC. FIR.

## ZEUSS'S GRAMMATICA CELTICA.

This work, which is written in the Latin language, and was published at Leipsic, in the year 1853, in two volumes octavo, is one of great toil and investigation, having occupied its author thirteen years, and, though much of it is of the nature of routine work, being grammatical comparisons of the different dialects of the Celtic; yet, from the great length into which the discussions are carried, it is still a work of considerable labour, and a brief remark or two may, therefore, seem required in connexion with it.

The main utility of this literary production appears to be to convince those who may chance to be sceptics in particular points of Celtic literature and language, and for that purpose it has been hitherto chiefly quoted.

Its late learned author having published his work as a Celtic grammar, the literary public was, therefore, not entitled to expect more, and yet, notwithstanding, it is much more, as it comprehends a species of current comment and dissertation on the Celtic language. Viewed in this light it cannot but be much regretted that this publication had not been written some fifteen years later, since in that case, Zeuss might have had the advantage of the works and dissertations of Lagoy, Lelewel, Duchalais, De la Saussaye, De Saulcy, and the French numismatists, as also those of Akerman, Roach Smith, Robert Williams, Williams ap Ithel, Basil Jones, and others; and, again, of the *Gododin* of Villemarqué, *La Revue Numismatique*, our *Numismatic Chronicle*, and the learned periodicals, the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and the *Journal of the Cambrian Institute*. Had Zeuss incorporated materials freely from these sources, it would have multiplied the value of his already learned work manifold.

Professor Zeuss may justly be esteemed very high authority in mediæval and modern Celtic; yet, notwithstanding the compass and profundity of his researches, it is obvious that he enters but little into the genius of primæval Celtic literature, as an instance or two, taken rather promiscuously, will sufficiently show. For example, we probably should not otherwise have had the following remark on the ancient British name of *Vernemetum*, as occurring in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus (*Iter*, VIII), "VERNEMETUM : nemed gl : (gleich)

sacellum, conf: Ven: For: 1. 9," *i.e.*, in English, "VERNEMETUM, nemed (which represents the three last syllables of this word) is likely to mean; sacellum, *i.e.*, a temple: compare *Venantius Fortunatus*, i, 9." Had he been familiarly versed in the archaic Celtic, he would scarcely have said, "likely," but would have pronounced it at once to be so; especially as we have *naomh*, in the sense of temple in the Armorican dialect. The passage in Venantius Fortunatus, which has been already quoted at the foregoing p. 115, is as follows:

> "Nomine Vernometum vóluit vocitare vetustas.
> Quod quasi fanum ingens Gallica lingua sonat."

He adopts the version of Edward Lhuyd of the name of Cunobeline. See the former page 110, that is of the first syllable of it being the Celtic word, *cyn*, *i.e.*, head, or chief," adjectively, though he tacitly admits that *cwn* or *cun* is not its ancient, but only its modern form. The ancient Celtic name CVNEGLAS (see the *History* of Gildas, c. 32), an appellation constructed somewhat in the form of our historical name, "Black Prince," may be, perhaps, sufficient to remove the error. If not, that other in the same author, c. 33, of MAGLOCVNE, *i.e.*, "The Great King," must, I think, be decisive, to shew that the last syllable of the above name, *i.e.*, CVN, must needs be a substantive and not an adjective.

Zeuss is equally unsatisfactory in the explanation of the word Gworthigern, which implies the chief or ruler of the principality (Gwerth-teyrn), whereas he makes it Gwrte-yrn, *i.e.*, "the man the king," which, as implying a contradiction of terms, of respect and disrespect, is neither in the genius of the Celtic, nor of any language whatever.

I may refer to a further passage (vol. ii, p. 949), to show the highly discreditable way in which the statistics of ancient Britain, and among them, its geography, are accustomed to be neglected, not only by continental writers, but I am sorry to say, by English and Cambrian writers also. He explains the ancient British provincial name *Gododin*, the appellation of Aneurin's celebrated poem, thus: He holds it to be Cumberland, on the Irish Sea, and called in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, for the years 945 and 1000, Cumbraland. Opposite to Cumberland he says is the region called Northumberland, divided into two minor parts, Ber-

nicia and Deira, and he pronounces that in these two, or rather, three regions, *i.e.*, Cumberland, Bernicia, and Deira, whatever was transacted in the poem of the *Gododin*, took place. However, the Caledonian Cumbria, as I may refer both to Mr. Williams ap Ithel and the Viscount Villemarqué, consisting of the Kingdom of Strathclyde, lies north of both Cumberland and Northumberland, and not one single one of the transactions of the *Gododin* took place in either, except some reinforcements being intercepted, which were coming up from the south.

Another specimen of the work of Zeuss, from his page 226, of the word Cymri, will be more favourable—"The words, Cymru and Cymraes, are derived from the form Cymro, which has in the plural Cymry, the vowel *y* being kept perseveringly unchanged. It must have been the most ancient form, if we suppose, *exempli gratiâ*, the word was ever in use amongst the Romans; but, without doubt, the name was introduced after the Saxon invasion."

I do not here touch upon the subject of Zeuss' old monkish and church manuscripts in the Celtic language, whether those of Ireland, England, or the Continent.

## MATERIA NUMISMATICA CELTICA.

The range of inquiry in a work like the present, is so extensive, that it may naturally be expected that, important as these researches may be for history, and essential as they may be for the honour and credit of the country that they should be made, yet but few will follow them out. Many historical inquirers and antiquarian researchers are often fated to plod along on one and the same road. One subdivision of the public record offices, one class of specimens, perhaps suffices them. But here the requisites are vastly more multifarious; for even the most solid acquirements are not sufficient unless accompanied with the other combinations suitable to these researches. Admit, for instance, a person to be well versed in Roman or Greek coins, unless accompanied with other capabilities, it is the most disadvantageous knowledge he can possess; as controversies on the Continent, and even in our own country, have shown. Admit a person to have a species of catalogue-maker's acquaintance with British coins, he still requires to be extremely well versed in the moneys of ancient Gaul, or he

may be misled. He must know ancient British history, and must study the character and customs of the ancient Celts.

All this is somewhat discouraging; and whereas the necessity for these preparations is by no means universally admitted, and that even the learned are usually inclined to treat of ancient British coins and Celtic inscriptions in a very off-hand way, it exposes the correct expounder of Celtic coins and their legends to the most unwarrantable attacks from persons who have not taken the pains to enter upon the whole scope of the subject. There is, however, no help for this.

I must now proceed to give the best directions in my power for the few who may be inclined to make these investigations an object of attention; in particular having a regard that this class of researches should be made a special branch of their inquiries at our national establishment of the British Museum. At present there appears to be a disposition among the savants of our national museum to consider the ancient British coinage as a species of bastard Roman coinage; or, in other words, a degenerate prolongation and very corrupted imitation of the Roman imperial coinage.

Lelewel's *Type Gaulois* is, then, first to be recommended for the study of ancient British coins as well as Celtic inscriptions. It is to be the first recommended as being the most comprehensive work we possess on the cognate Gaulish coinage, notwithstanding his political tirades will disgust most readers, the object of which was to exchange the alleged oppression of one ruler for the undoubtedly severer tyranny of numerous oligarchs. However, we must excuse him this, as he was ostensibly led away by the enthusiasm of the moment. It is enough for us that we owe an extensive debt of gratitude to him for first placing all the varying phases and Celtic characteristics of the Gaulish coinage on the basis of solid erudition. I will only add further on his work, that his numismatic explorations appear to form a medium between the French and German style of research; and it is clear enough that he avoids the prolixity so often noticeable in writers of the German class.

By commencing with Lelewel, the student, particularly the Englishman, will be far more capable of understanding the writings of Lagoy de la Saussaye, Duchalais, De Saulcy, Lambert, and others. I have endeavoured, but perhaps at

a great distance, to do the same for the ancient British coinage which he did for that of Gaul. The student must understand that it is necessary that a person should have a competent knowledge of Gaulish coins in order to facilitate his investigations of the ancient British moneys.

In regard to English authors on ancient British coins and their legends, I must refer the reader to an *ad libitum* selection of various works which have been referred to in the present pages.

The becoming versed either in Gaulish or British numismatics, by the means of the coins themselves, is certainly the longest way of doing so. I therefore recommend, as I have done, a reference to various literary works, rather than sending the student to the cabinets of coin collectors, or to museums. It is a more advanced period of study which requires the coins themselves to be consulted; when, indeed, whatever collection may be inspected, the most close examinations are indispensable to obtain a mental conviction, first, whether the various specimens be authentic; and secondly, whether their legends have been correctly represented by the engravings published of them. It would be quite out of character, of course, for a tyro in these studies to do this; and it must at all times be done with much caution, and with a repression, of the full extent, of all possible surmises, to prevent mistakes being made in this species of connoisseurship, and also out of deference to the feelings and *amour propre* of those who, perhaps, may have expended large sums in the purchase of very equivocal specimens.

Lastly, a dismission of all prejudices is required. Coins must be studied in the spirit of Eckhel or Ruding. Truth and accuracy must be the solicitude; and it is but justice to point out with encomiums the very dispassionate line of research so very frequently exhibited by continental numismatists.

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## NOTE.

Within the last few months an extensive "find" of ancient British coins has been ploughed up in the parish of Nunney, three miles to the west of Frome; which is in the eastern part of the county of Somerset, and consequently actually within the former territories of the ancient Belgæ; of which, by the kindness of Mr. Evans, I am enabled to give some authentic particulars, though the more full details must be looked for elsewhere.

The coins comprised ten that were of gold, about two hundred and thirty-three in silver, three Roman coins in silver, of the class called "family coins"; and four in bronze, of the second brass size. As to the British coins, about forty-three are inscribed; the prevailing legends, according to my reading, being RIGVANTEO for "Riguantes"; which is obviously the Celtic form for the Latin word *Regentes*; and SVEI, apparently a considerable portion of the titular name of the king of this division of the Belgæ, whatever it might have been. The name "Regentes" occurs in *Ravennas*; in which author there is both the town mentioned, of Noviomagus simply; and also a second of the same appellation, distinguished as *Noviomagus Regentium*, as the Vatican copy specially inclines us to read, which has "Navimagore gentium," though the usually edited copy, only has *Ravimago Regentium*. The gold coins were impressed with the fern-leaf or fish-bone symbol on the reverse. The silver coins had a rude head on the one side, and a disjointed horse on the other. Two of the gold coins are inscribed CATTI, which possibly refers to no name of a state, but from its etymology may not improbably stand in the same signification as the letter M. for MILITES on the coins of Carausius and Allectus. The date of these coins seems best assigned to the æra of Caractacus.

# ATLAS

OF

# ANCIENT BRITISH

# COINS.

# REFERENCES.

PLATE.

I. Coins of Cunobeline's Sons, etc.

II. Ditto of the Brigantes.

III. Ditto of the Iceni, etc.

IV. Ditto of Karnbrê.

V. Various Coins of Cunobeline.

VI. Ditto of the Sons of Cunobeline.

Ditto of the Southern Belgæ of Britain.

VII. Ditto, continued.

VIII. Various Coins of the Brigantes, etc.

IX. Ditto of the Iceni.

Coins to illustrate the origin of the Gaulish Coinage.

X. Ditto, continued.

Doubtful Coins.

XI. Coins mis-read.

Fac-similes.

Coins illustrating ancient British Chariots.

# REMARKS.

PLATE I—XI. The main object and purpose of Cunobeline's coinage were evidently to free himself from the thraldom of the Druidical priesthood and their political interferences, by introducing the adoration of the deities of Greece and Rome instead. Thus the heathen deities form the general subject of his types; their busts being inserted on the obverses, and their full length figures on the reverses of his moneys; or otherwise the animals sacrificed to them, as the horse, bull, ram, and goat; or else figures connected with mythological myths, as the sphinx, griffin, and pegasus. Other subjects of either obverses or reverses as plate V, figs. 7, 8, 11, are comparatively but few.

In respect to another section of ancient British coins, the object of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, was ostensibly pretty much the same, as is discoverable from his types and legends; nor does there appear to have been much difference in any quarter in Britain, till Dubnovellaunos, or otherwise Togodumnus, about half a century afterwards at war with the Romans, and apparently wishing to court popularity, introduced Druidical circles on his coins. (See pl. i, figs. 3, 4, and 6.)

There had been a similar contest eight or nine centuries before in Syria and the East, between the votaries of the Mithraic worship and those who adopted the then gradually progressing and more expanded form of Grecian mythology. There are many allusions to this in the holy Scriptures. The adoration of *Moloch*, the "god of fire," with the murderous rites connected with it, was gradually abolished, and the worship of Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Venus, Diana, Hercules, Adonis, and other false gods of that class, substituted for it. Many ancient potentates acquired their names from the part they took in this contest, as Ethbael, *i. e.* witness of Bel or Jupiter, and Jezebel, the brightness of the same divinity; Adrammelech, the king Adar, *i. e.* "the god of fire;" Merodach, "Mars," and other appellations there were of a similar class. (See *Report* XXIX *of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 17-27, embodying the remarks and illustrations of Sir Henry Rawlinson on the subject.) The result in this case of this early pagan schism appears to have been, that the Mithraic worship was only in effect retained in one part of the East, that is, in Persia, though the Druidical religion may in some respects be considered to have been a branch of it; and fainter modifications, not Druidical,

obtained a footing at one time in Rome and various other countries, not excepting Britain.

PLATE V. None of the heads or busts in this plate have any reference to Cunobeline, but represent respectively, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Jupiter-Ammon, and Minerva; nor is there any variation in this respect in Cunobeline's other types: Selden, therefore, in his *Titles of Honour*, part i, 8, was of course strangely deceived in imagining that he had not only the portrait, but also the head attire, ornamented with beads, as he considered, of the ancient British king, as pourtrayed on one of his moneys.

Fig. 12. This is the only correct engraving which I have seen of Mr. J. A. Wigan's, now Mr. Edward Wigan's coin, which bears the legend TASC.FIR. This reading has the authority of its former possessor, Mr. Wigan, Mr. Shepherd, of Luddesdown, Dr. Plomley, of Maidstone, and Messrs. Cureton and Cuff; besides that of the distinguished numismatists Messrs. C. Roach Smith and Fairholt. I receive it also myself from my own examinations of the type; and the same reading of Lord Braybrooke's first discovered coin, from fragments of the last letter remaining, though less come into notice, has a considerable degree of authority. Hence I retain the reading. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 214, 284.)

PLATE VI. Fig. 3. This coin, engraved from Camden's *Britannia*, should read TASCIF, on the reverse, instead of TASCIE. Indeed, it is so engraved in Speed's *History of England*, fol. 1614, pp. 176 and 195.

Fig. 6. This again, engraved from Gough's *Camden*, should evidently read COMF on the reverse instead of COME. The object delineated on the reverse of this coin, as also on that of fig. 6, plate ix, was not intended for a cross, but it represents a wheel with four spokes. See also Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, pt. vii, figs. 52, 54.

PLATE VII, fig. 2. The reverse of this coin should display a rude helmed head, but has been accidently misrepresented by the engraver.

Fig. 9. This reverse again, exhibits the real countermark of the Southern Belgæ of Britain, as is shown in the *Celtic Inscriptions*, p. 42. Fig. 8, of this same plate, which appears to be a rude ancient Celtic coin, may possibly have been countermarked in the same way, as it bears the impress of this same word TIN.

Fig. 10 is an uninscribed coin found at Wonersh, near Guildford, in 1848, and is hitherto wholly unexplained. It is very clear cut, and was evidently a representation or symbol of some celebrity, as there are several other patterns of this coin and its type, and some of them extremely rude. (See Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, plate LVI, fig. 7; and the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1848.)

PLATE VIII. Figs. 5 and 6, were found in Whaddon Chase, Buckinghamshire, in the course of the year 1849, and approximate to various Gaulish types. The reverses of these coins merely represent wreaths and ornamented head-dresses.

PLATE IX. Icenian coins are divisible into four classes: (1) Icenian coins generally, (Iceni *in genere*); (2) Coins of dependent

states; (3) Coins of Prasutagus (Vreisutagus), the sovereign of the Iceni mentioned by Tacitus, which are known by some portion of his name, inscribed *i. e.*, VRE. RVEIS, etc. (see fig. 4); and (4) coins of Prasutagus with heads (see *Celtic Inscriptions*, p. 129). The Iceni were noted for making use of portions of the legs of horses delineated on their coins for the strokes of letters, as there are several instances. They were noted likewise for the profuse use of ligatures, *i. e.*, abbreviations of words or parts of words, for both which last particulars see plate III.

Various Icenian coins are found with the legends ECES. and ECEN., which are considered to be a contracted form of ECENES, for the "Iceni," though contrary to the orthography which Tacitus gives. The termination ANTES, supposed part of the word "Iugantes," likewise frequently occurs; but in no case is the first syllable to be seen inscribed on the specimens which supply us with this last portion of the legend.

Fig. 2. This fine coin of the Cangi was engraved from the late Mr. Beezley's specimen. There are further types of other ancient British states, some of them minor ones, extant, much in this style, and seemingly forming a distinct class. See pl. i, fig. 8; iii, fig. 8; vii, fig. 5; and viii, 7; and *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 179, 283; as also *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1851, plate at p. 71, fig. 12. It may be believed that they were struck in the nine years war of Caractacus with the Romans, mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 36; when the nationalities of the minor states must have been excited and their striking coin might be expected.

PLATE X, fig. 6. The coin inscribed DIAS first appeared in Camden's *Britannia*, and is not now extant, nor has any cognate specimen been found. The leading sense of the word DIAS is "revenge," but it is not safe to hazard any opinion on the coin, except that it may be believed to be authentic.

Figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.—FORGERIES.—Of these, the first, No. 6, is an alteration from a coin of Carissa, in Spain, and passed off as representing Caractacus. No. 7 is a Gaulish coin of Apollo Musagetes (see *Lambert*, pl. viii, fig. 20); with the double scroll which belongs to this coin partially removed, and the inscription BOADI introduced in its place; intended to be applied to Boadicea, the celebrated British queen. Nos. 8 and 9 were formed from coins of Macedonia, and were intended to be received as types of Arviragus. These were all forgeries of the last century. Modern forgeries take a more decided turn, and frequently originate types entirely new.

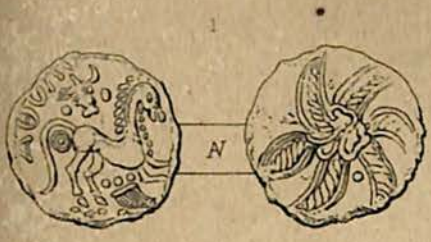
PLATE XI, figs. 3 and 4. These fac-similes are in Greek letters, and are considered both to read KERAT(IC), the second having one letter less supplied, and the Greek R being represented by the Roman P. It is to be explained, that the head on each of these coins from which these legends are taken, being that of Hercules, and the first letter being in the place where the knot of the lion's skin is usually exhibited, a cavil has been raised according to the ideas of some on this account. Nevertheless, it is not well founded; for an examina-

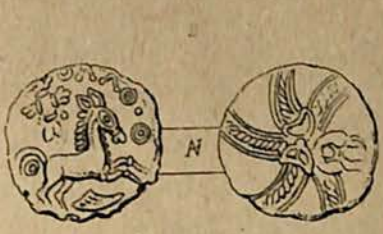
tion of Greek coins which delineate the head of Hercules will show, that the knot under the neck is at times left out, and a letter instead inserted at that place.

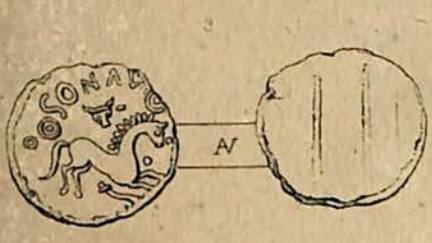
Figs. 5 and 6. These two fac-similes, both expressing AED, are believed to be parts of the full legend AEDEDOMAROS, *i. e.*, Adminius, for so we learn the orthography of the name from Mr. Evans' valuable paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1856. I, however, venture to differ from him in reading the second letter as an E and not as a D, for which I conceive there is authority. (See Bouteroue's *Monnoyes de France*, fol. 1666, p. 157.) This variation may be regarded as of little moment; for whether the letter may be a D or an E, it is pretty clear from the style of execution, and their general similarity with the coins of a contemporary British prince, Dubnovellaunos, that the same person, Adminius, is meant. It certainly should not surprise us, that the orthography of the name Aedd in the first century, as compared with its form a thousand years afterwards, in the Middle Ages, might have been different. The whole name is "Aedd the Great," according to the inflated titular style of the Celts. The multiplication of the names of this prince was only another Celtic peculiarity. Caractacus had eight distinct and different names, as it appears from history, inscriptions, coins, chronicles, and triads. *i. e.*, Caractacus, Cogidubnus, Keratic, Cearatic, Gueiridd, Arviragus, and Caradog. His brother, Togodumnus, had three, *i. e.*, Togodumnus, Dubnovellaunos, and Guydir. This other brother Adminius appears to have had four, *i. e.*, Adminius, Amminus, Myno-cymbelinus (see the *History of Orosius*), and the one at present in question of AEDEDOMAROS. If examined, this apparently confused nomenclature will be found to be by no means a mystery, for the reader will perceive that various of the appellations are merely titles of rank or office, or indicate the position held by governors of provinces; and besides, that they may apply to periods widely distinct in the lifetimes of the persoms to whom they belong, though they may have come down to posterity collectively. Thus the matter is sufficiently cleared up. Our plate I contains two of the coins of Adminius under his name of *Aedededomaros*, Nos. 1 and 2, as is shown by some small fragments of the legends remaining; though the same are very illegible. Perhaps, also, it contains another still of his types, as it is very possible that No. 6, inscribed TASCIAV for TASCIOVANUS, *i. e.*, "Military commander," may apply to him. The legends *Aedorix* and *Rix oll.* (*Celt. Inscr.*, pp. 33 and 79), on further examination do not appear to be sufficiently warranted. The second e in the legends which have the name *Aedededomaros*, is often expressed by the double I; which, though not so unusual in ancient British coins, still, in partially defaced inscriptions, somewhat increases the illegibility. (See plate XI, fig. 5.)

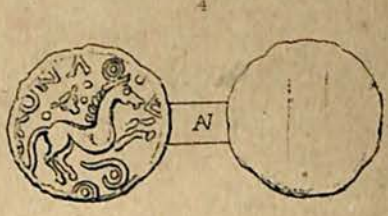
The legend DVBNOVELLAYNOS, a very important one of its class, appears to have been first noticed by Mr. Birch (see the *Numismatic Chronicle*, No. LIII, for 1851, pp. 79-82).

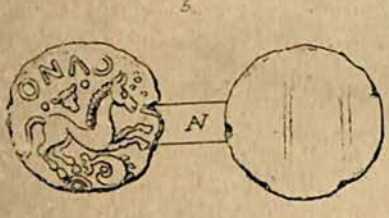
Ashbee & Dangerfield, Lith: Bedford St Covent Garden.

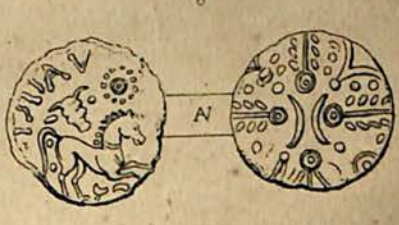


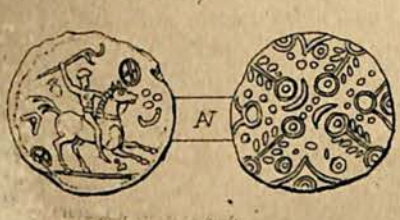


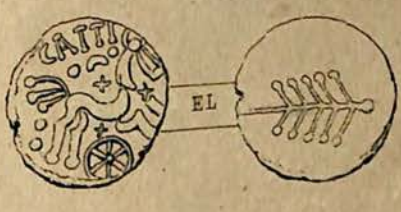












BRITISH COINS.

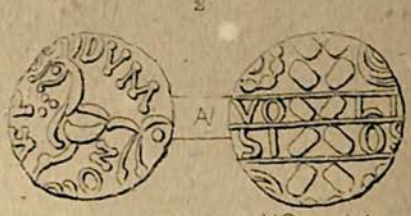
*Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, British Coins of a supposed similar class. No. 5, the preceding coin No. 4, as it was engraved in Dr. Pegge's work, in 1766. No. 7, coin of Verulam. No. 8, British coin.*

# BRITISH COINS.

1

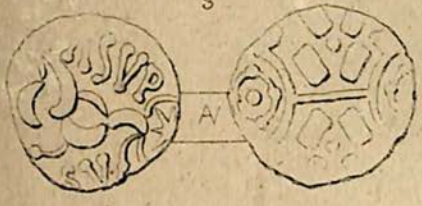
DVMNOCOVEPOS VO S

2



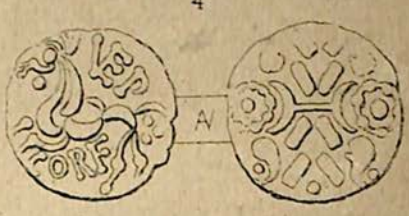
DVMNOCOVEP VO LI SI OS

3



ASVP AS

4

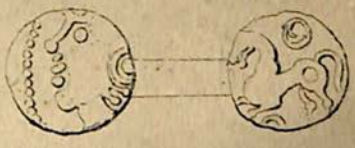


VEP & CORF

5

TICIION VMI

6



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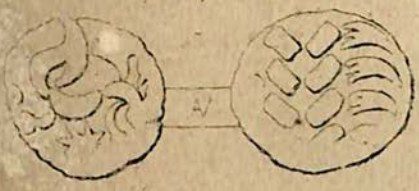

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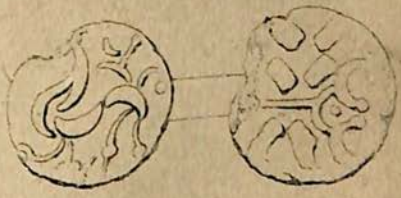

COINS OF THE BRIGANTES.

# BRITISH COINS.

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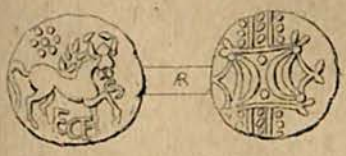

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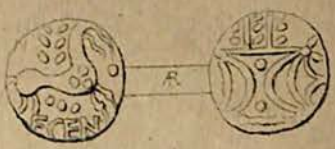

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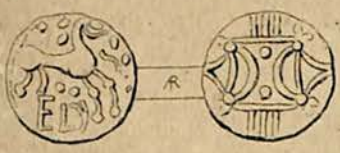

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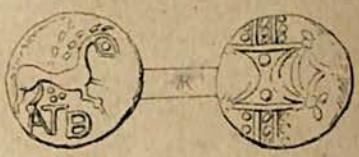

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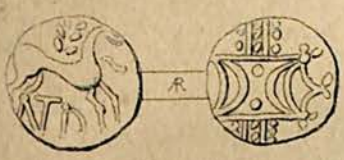

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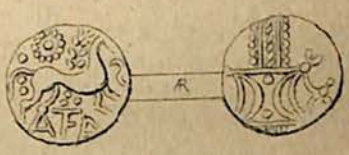

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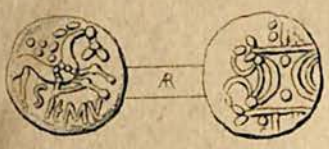

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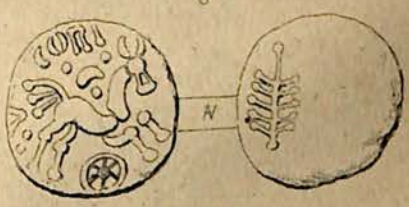

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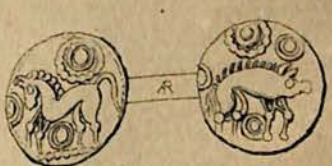
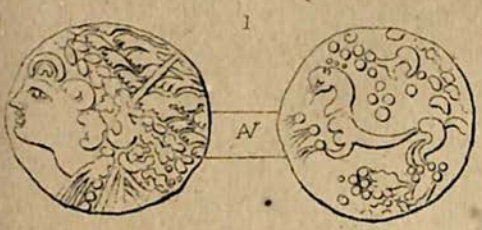
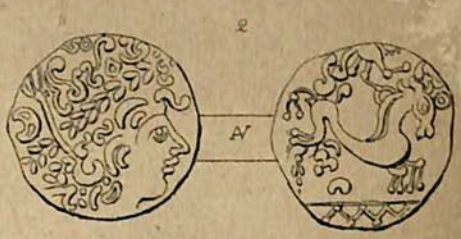
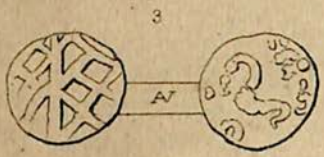


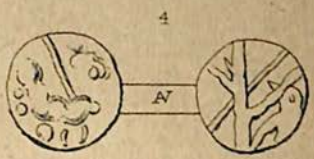
*Drawn & Engraved by F.W.Fairholt F.S.A*

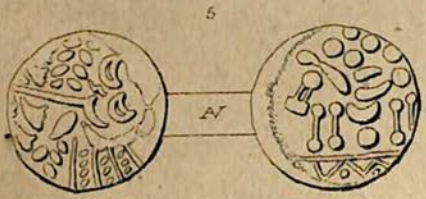
*Nos. 1. to 7. Coins attributed to the Iceni.*
*Nos. 8. 9 and 10. British Coins.*

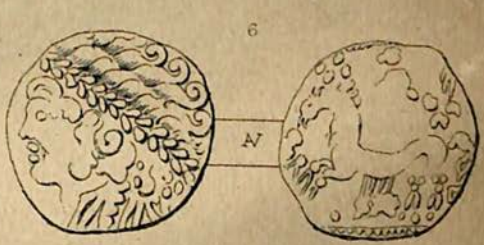


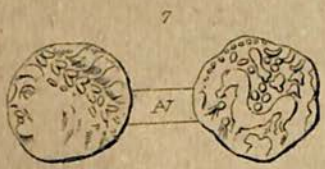


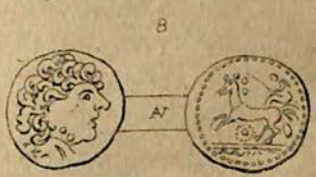








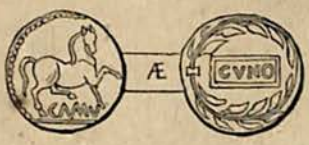




*Figs. 3 and 4. Class i. Karnbré Types. Fig. 5. Class ii. ditto. Figs. 6 and 7. Class iii. ditto.*
*Figs. 1 and 2. Cognate Coins to Class iii. Karnbré Types.*
*Fig. 8. Imitation of Macedonian Stater.*

# VARIOUS COINS OF CUNOBELINE.

1

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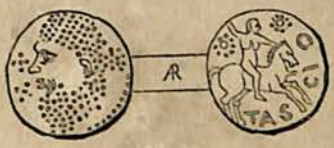


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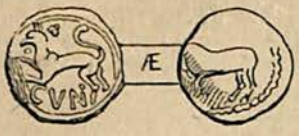


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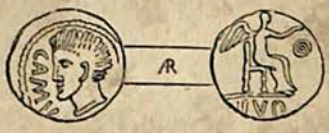


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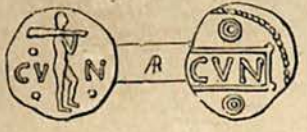


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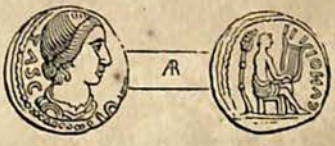


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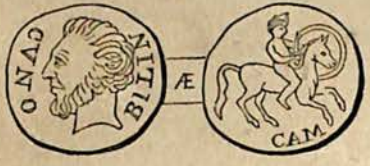


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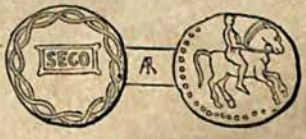


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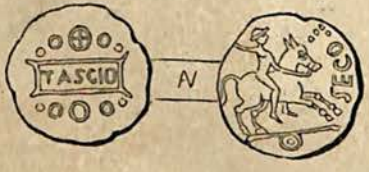


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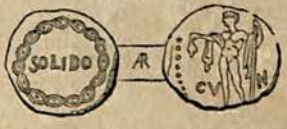


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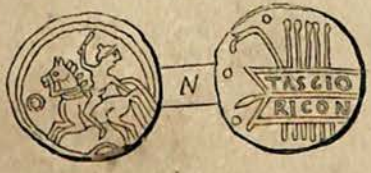
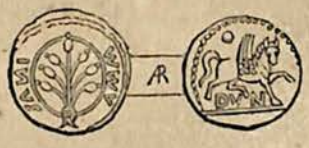



12

## VARIOUS COINS OF THE SONS OF CUNOBELINE.

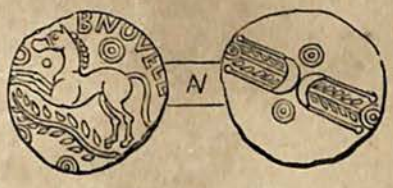
*See also* PLATE I.

1



*Adminius.*

2



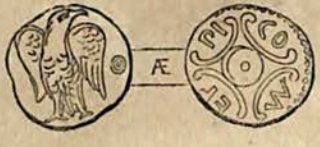
*Togodumnus.*

3

*Caractacus.*

## VARIOUS COINS OF THE SOUTHERN BELGÆ OR FIRBOLGI OF BRITAIN, INHABITANTS OF KENT, SUSSEX, SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, DORSETSHIRE, AND WILTSHIRE.

4



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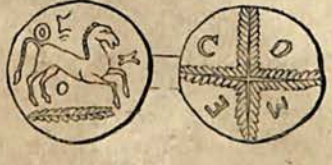

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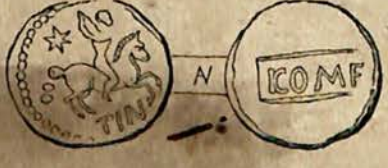


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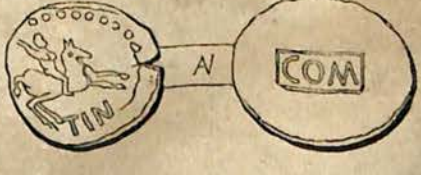
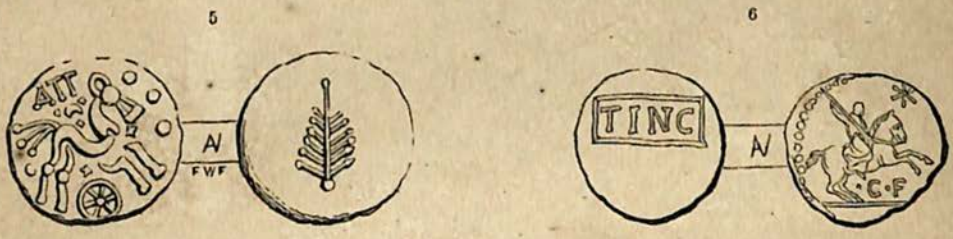


## COINS OF THE SOUTHERN BELGÆ—*continued.*

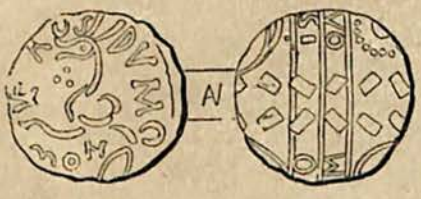


## ROMAN COIN, WITH THE COUNTERMARK OF THE SOUTHERN BELGÆ.

## VARIOUS COINS OF THE BRIGANTES, OR OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, NORTH OF THE HUMBER AND SOUTH OF SCOTLAND.

*See also* PLATE II.

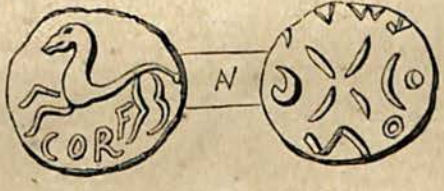
1



2

3

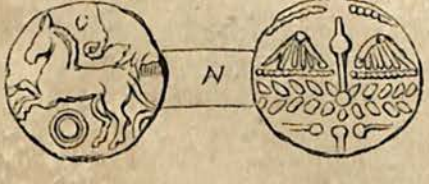
4




## COINS FOUND AT WHADDON CHASE.

*Classification uncertain.*

5



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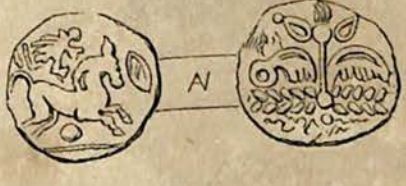
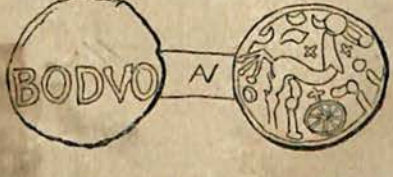


## COIN OF THE DOBUNI.

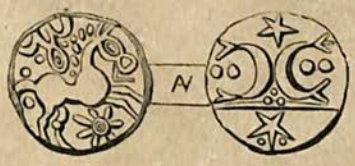
7



## VARIOUS COINS OF THE ICENI, AND OF MINOR OR PROVINCIAL STATES SUBJECT TO THEM.

*See also* PLATE III.

1



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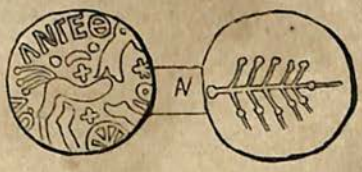

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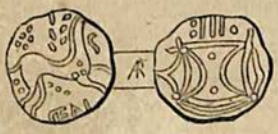

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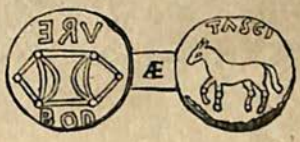

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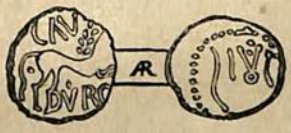
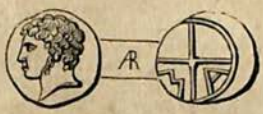


## VARIOUS COINS TO SHOW THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE GAULISH COINAGE.

6



7

8

9

## ORIGIN OF THE GAULISH COINAGE—*continued.*

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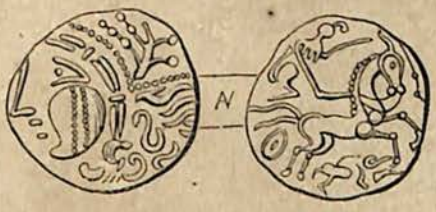
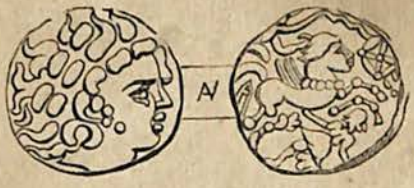


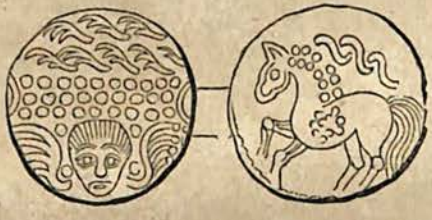
2

3



## OTHER ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

4



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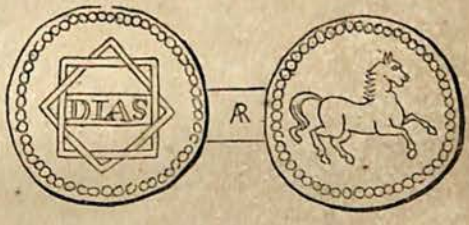


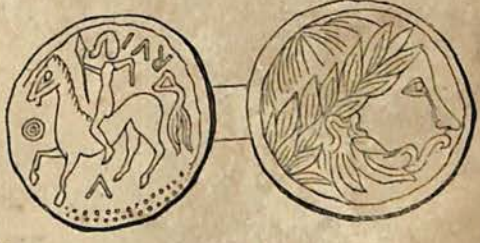

## FORGED COINS AND COINS OF DOUBTFUL AUTHORITY.

6

7

8

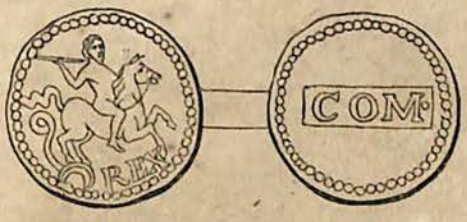
9



10

## COINS MIS-READ.

1




*Vir Rex.* *Comf.*

2

*Vir. Rex.*

## FAC-SIMILES OF LEGENDS.

3

4

5

*Aediid*

6

*Aed*

7

## ROMAN COINS, SUPPOSED ILLUSTRATIONS OF ANCIENT CELTIC CHARIOTS.

8

9

## NOTE.

The coins are engraved by Mr. Fairholt, F.S.A., except the woodcuts, v. fig. 12, vii. fig. 10, ix. figs. 4 and 5; and xi. figs. 7, 8, and 9, which have been otherwise supplied. The obliging loan of plate iv by Mr. Pettigrew and the Council of the British Archæological Association is here acknowledged. Thanks are also due in the same quarter for very numerous other delineations.

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